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NR
NATIONAL REVIEW

What Does Ralph Nader Really Want?

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The Trans-Alaska Pipeline.

A report on the most remarkable private construction project in American history.

Far above the Arctic Circle on Alaska's North Slope lies the largest oil field in North America. The Prudhoe Bay oil field holds an estimated 10 billion barrels (one barrel equals 42 gallons) of crude oil.

For years engineers have generally agreed that a pipeline would be the most economical way to get the oil out of this wilderness.

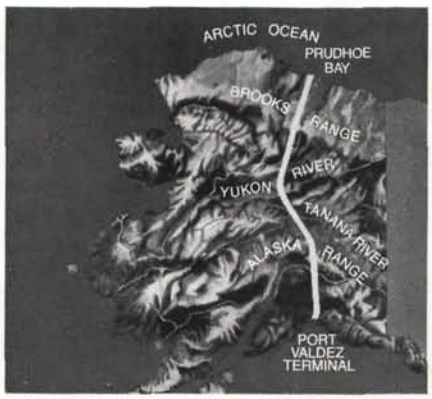
In 1974 work began on the Trans-Alaska Pipeline System—the largest single construction project ever undertaken by private industry.

It took over one-half million tons of steel to make the 798 miles of pipe for the project. The sections are 40' and 60' long, 48" in diameter.

The route

The Trans-Alaska Pipeline System will be about 798 miles long—winding its way from Prudhoe across the rugged face of Alaska to Valdez, a deep-water port in southern Alaska.

The Pipeline must cross 3 major mountain ranges, including the Brooks Range, where it will snake through Dietrich Pass at 4,500 feet elevation. It will cross 17 major rivers, including the Yukon, third largest in North America.



The 798-mile Trans-Alaska Pipeline System may ultimately carry 2 million barrels of oil a day from Prudhoe Bay to Valdez.

At the southern terminal point in Valdez, the oil will be loaded into ocean-going tankers and shipped to the U.S. West Coast.

80° below zero

Working conditions along the route are almost without parallel in the history of the industry. 40-mile-an-hour winds and temperatures down to 80° below zero can reduce human work efficiency by 90 percent.

27 Empire State Buildings

It will take over three years and nearly $6 *billion* to build the Pipeline. This is the equivalent of what it would cost today to build 27 Empire State Buildings, or 3 Panama Canals.

Ownership of the Pipeline is held by eight companies, with Exxon Pipeline Co. having a 20 percent interest. These companies formed *Alyeska Pipeline Service Co.* to design and construct the Pipeline.

What's happening today

Right now, thousands of men and women are working on the Pipeline at many different camps spaced along the route. Employment will reach a peak of 15,000 workers at 29 camps.

The highest hurdle for the Pipeline will be the 4,500-foot-high Dietrich Pass in the Brooks Mountain Range.

The present schedule calls for the Pipeline operation to begin in the summer of 1977 at 600,000 barrels a day, with capacity of 1.2 million barrels a day shortly thereafter. Ultimately, the pipe may carry 2 million barrels a day. This important new source of oil will help America become more self-sufficient and less dependent on foreign oil.

For additional information on the Trans-Alaska Pipeline System, write: Exxon Corp., Dept. S, Box 1147, Ansonia Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10023.

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MORALITY, ANYONE?

William Lester, Jesuit priest, gives men, women and young people of *all* faiths convincing answers to today's ethical problems—answers based on traditional moral principles

Rock singers, talk-show hosts, professors of Swahili, political windbags —these days they're all experts on what they choose to call morality. All too often, they sound twisted, even sick.

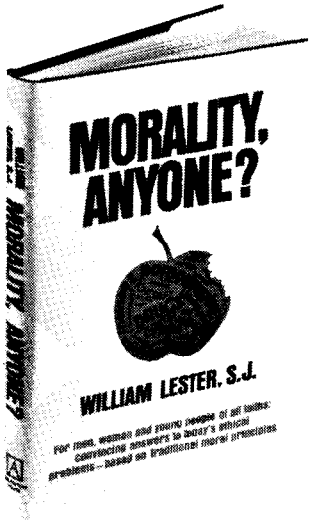
Worse, they ride the airwaves into our very homes.

All this comes at a time when our churches and schools, once the guardians of traditional values, no longer speak loud and clear even on the basics.

Where are we to turn – especially men and women with young people in their charge?

To provide this guidance, William Lester began a syndicated newspaper column called "The Moral Angle." It caught on. This book grew out of his columns. Some of the questions are timeless, but many are as contemporary as the 6 O'Clock News. Questions like . . .

- Is homosexuality ever moral?
- Do strikers have the right to use force to keep others from working?
- Is cloning permissible?
- Should rapists be castrated?
- Is a baby born with two heads one or two people?
- What about sexual foreplay in marriage?



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Can You Answer These Questions on Morality for Yourself? For Your Children?

Many of these questions are sure to come up in your own life. Some already have. Are you sure about the right answer to each one? Above all, are you able to give a clear, logical reply when your own child asks you questions like these?

- Do student newspapers have the right to editorial freedom?
- Should people on welfare be allowed to organize and lobby?
- Are sex-change operations permissible?
- Drinking and smoking – are they forms of suicide?
- When is a person dead?
- Are marriage vows "for keeps"?
- Should handguns be outlawed?
- May corporal punishment be used in schools?
- Does a citizen ever have the right to disobey a court?
- Should military deserters be given amnesty?
- Does every minority have the right to representation on government boards?
- Can burglary ever be sanctioned?
- What physical risks may you take to earn your living? For recreation?
- How far should you go to keep family secrets?
- Is there a point at which a doctor need not try to keep a patient alive?
- Should a man move his family to get a better job?
- Is the flogging of criminals permissible?
- Should teachers be obliged to take loyalty oaths?
- Is national health insurance a good thing?
- Should prisoners be allowed to unionize?
- Is it ever moral to cheat on your income - tax?
- Was dollar devaluation a form of stealing by the government?

Father Lester is a Jesuit priest. Does that mean his answers are only for Catholics? The Copley News Service, which syndicates his column, doesn't think so. Neither do the *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner* and the 75 other secular newspapers that feature the column. The only question on which Father Lester takes a specifically Catholic position is contraception. On the others, he draws on the timeless ethical principles of the natural law—principles on which people of all faiths have traditionally agreed.

Best of all, Father Lester refuses to waltz around the issues. He never hides behind ambiguous language or puffery. The questions are tough. His answers are just as crisp, to the point, reasoned; and they always come in plain English.

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VOL. XXVII, NO. 7

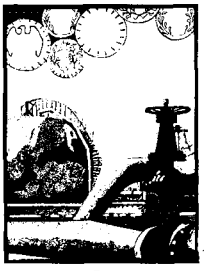
FEBRUARY 28, 1975

NR NATIONAL REVIEW

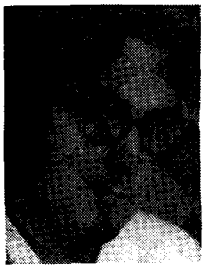
VAN DEN HAAG
Page 235

GUASPARI
Page 224

CAHN
Page 211


REYNOLDS
Page 219

DE FEO
Page 234


CHATFIELD
Page 232

ARTICLES

211 **Israel, the Arabs, and Oil Money**
The real question is why the Arabs are selling *any* oil. Mr. Cahn proposes a startling answer, from which he derives a novel approach to Mideast policy. *Herbert Cahn*

214 **Who's a Rip Van Winkle?**
A retort to *NR*'s farewell to HUAC.
Lawrence V. Cott

219 **What Does Ralph Nader Really Want?**
A look at the presuppositions of the man who has cost the American consumer more money than any other private citizen.
Alan Reynolds

224 **Disinviting Ron Ziegler**
Sure he can exercise free speech—so long as it's for free. Or can he? *John Guaspari*

COLUMNS

209 **Numbers: 52, 70, 70+**
Mr. Ford's projected deficit is both mammoth and optimistic. *George F. Will*

210 **Those Good Old Colonial Days**
Our own doctrine of national sovereignty for all is back to haunt us.
James Burnham

225 **Children Are Educable**
A new program in Richmond proves it.
Russell Kirk

ARTS & MANNERS

226 **Up from L-b-r-lism**
The New Republic has changed hands. But will it change its naughty ways?
M. J. Sobran Jr.

227 **Wines of Yugoslavia**
Tito's subjects have some consolations.
Nika Hazelton

229 **Some German Memories**
The most talked-of art attraction in Germany—possibly in all Europe—this winter.
Ruth Berenson

BOOKS

231 *The Last Secret* retells, scrupulously and movingly, the tragic story of post-World War II "repatriations." *Rene Kuhn Bryant*

232 Hitler's generals, says Harold Deutsch, despised their boss, but without transcending him. *Jack Chatfield*

233 *The Connoisseur*, by Evan S. Connell Jr., is a quasi-novel that raises "fierce, vain questions" about the art of collecting.
D. Keith Mano

234 John Gardner's new novel is bloated by his "sweet tooth for philosophy."
Ronald De Feo

235 Anatole Broyard's book reviews, now themselves a book, are often superior to their subjects. *Ernest van den Haag*

194 **Letters**
196 **For the Record**
199 **The Week**
232 **Random Notes**
240 **On the Right**
242 **Trans-O-Gram**

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Letters

Not Too Late for Vietnam

As I turned to your spread on Vietnam in the February 14 issue, I expected to find it interesting, but not startling: how much really new could there be to say?

Well, I was wrong. If anything like John Swanson's "A New Psywar Approach" has appeared in print before, I have not seen it. Mr. Swanson gets to the nub of why our propaganda efforts haven't worked (I had completely forgotten that our government idiots had once tried wooing the North Vietnamese with the wit and wisdom of Lyndon Johnson), and how they can be made to work. If Americans are moved and angered by pictures of Vietnamese killed and wounded in war, then other Vietnamese certainly ought to be. If Mr. Swanson's suggestion were implemented right now, before South Vietnam succumbs to North Vietnam and the U.S. Congress, the tide might still be turned.

Bridgeport, Conn. TOM AVERY

Amnesty's List to Port

I have been active in the U.S. section of Amnesty International as a member of its Board of Directors since 1967 and as, in succession, Secretary, Chairman, Vice Chairman, and counsel. I think George Nash ["The Ordeal of Amnesty International," Dec. 6] is the first writer to attempt a serious political analysis of the organization. Although Mr. Nash reveals his own position to be one which makes the National Rifle Association look a little pink, he has not treated Amnesty unfairly.

He notes correctly that Amnesty is like a ship with a substantial list to port, which the rudder nevertheless steers along on a reasonably straight course. I disagree, however, with Mr. Nash's implication that the leftward tilt is increasing. I think it has remained pretty much the same during the entire period I have been in Amnesty and I do not think there is any serious danger that it will become worse. But I still don't like it and I agree that we would be better off if we had more centrists and rightwingers. However, as I discussed with Mr. Nash, there do not seem to be enough people on the right interested in human rights who are also interested in actively doing something about them.

We are not going to refuse membership to leftwingers who are ready to go to work for nonviolent political prisoners of every ideological complexion simply because there are already plenty of McGovernites, McCarthyites, and ex-Vietnam war protestors in the organization. We would welcome conservatives on our Board of Directors, but frankly, here again we've encountered a reluctance to serve when we tell them, as we think we should, that we don't want figureheads but people who will actually come to meetings, take on assignments—and squawk if they think any political viewpoint other than a simple commitment to human liberty is entering into our affairs.

Mr. Nash is also right in complaining that Amnesty, partly for excusable reasons such as easier access to information, has done more work on prisoners in rightist countries. We have long realized this, and we are now setting up what we are calling, for lack of a better name, a committee on balance.

But despite all its defects, Amnesty International remains incomparably the most useful and effective organization of its kind and I, whatever my questions about some of our practices, have never doubted the good faith and sincerity of my most left-minded colleagues. I am sure the same acceptance will be extended by them to all conservatives who may come into our company.

New York, N.Y. MARK K. BENENSON

I read with real interest the article about Amnesty International which appeared in the NATIONAL REVIEW and appreciate very much the thoughtful approach to the difficulties which any organization like ours encounters. I wish to convey to you my appreciation of the interest shown in our work and the critical appraisal to which the writer submitted it. This type of discussion is going on constantly within the organization and we are indeed deeply aware of the problems which are spelled

(Continues on page 197)

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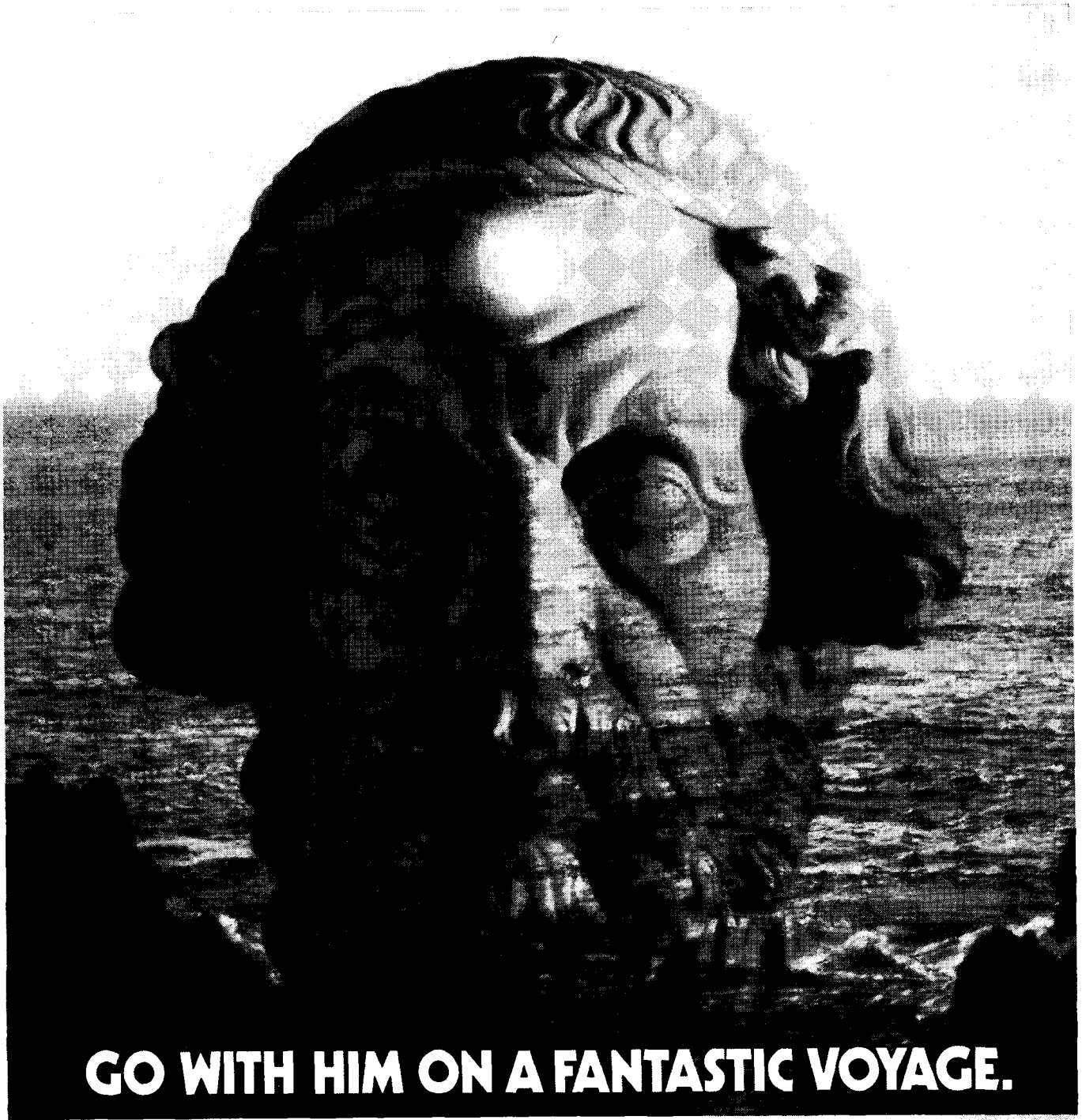

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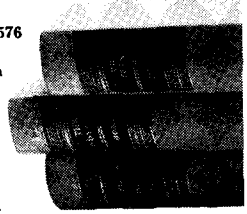

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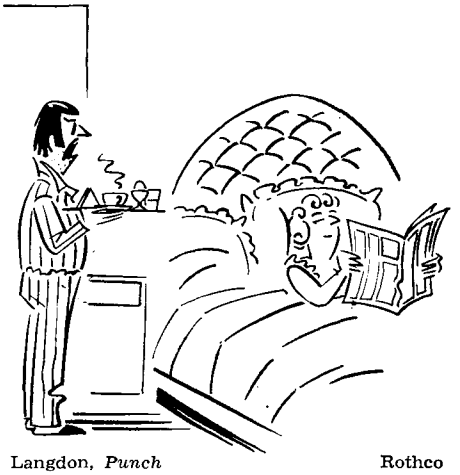
FOR THE RECORD

■ Evenhandedness in the 94th Congress: Sen. **Frank Church**, head of the Senate committee that will investigate CIA, has chosen as chief counsel **William C. Miller**, who is technically, but only technically, a Republican. As an aide to liberal former Republican Sen. **John Sherman Cooper** (now ambassador to East Germany), Miller opposed the ABM, was behind the Cooper-Church amendment to tie the President's hands in Vietnam, is a longtime anti-cold-warrior. . . . **David Berlin**, chief of staff of the **Rockefeller** Commission, is also a Republican, was a member of the **Warren** Commission, has been a dove on Vietnam all along, worked for **Nixon**'s election in 1968, but only voted for him in '72. . . . Sen. Church, incidentally, has warned that any staff member who leaks information from his hearings to the press will be fired. . . . That warning came the same week that Sen. **Richard Schweiker** (R., Pa.) was sending what was alleged to be a secret CIA "work order" for secret information on Canada's transport system to a buddy in the Canadian Parliament, **Perrin Beatty**, who made the most of it. . . . Sen. **Russell Long** (D., La.), meanwhile, has voiced his alarm over the fact that at least one Democratic senator on the Democratic Steering Committee is leaking information to the press. Long has doubts that the Senate investigation of CIA and FBI can be secure. . . . *Counter-spy*, a left wing radical publication based in Washington, is reissuing the list it first published last summer of the names of what it says are CIA operatives in 100 cities around the world. . . . Cover of many other CIA operations blown by **Philip Agee** in *Inside CIA*.

■ Americans for Democratic Action immensely heartened by the new breed of Southern legislator. ADA says **Southern congressmen** elected in 1972 had a liberal rating of 42 per cent as against a rating of 19 per cent for senior Southern Democrats; it believes class of '74 (15 strong) will be even more liberal. . . . Liberal Sen. **Joseph Biden** (D., Del.) wishes both the ADA and organized labor would shut up about his voting record. "The ADA is like a plague," he says. "They gave me a high rating and that hit my state like a brushfire." (Biden has 80 per cent ADA and COPE ratings.) . . . One piece



Langdon, *Punch* Rotheo

"You mean every damn morning during International Women's Year?"

of legislation much favored by **labor**—registration of voters by postcard—has, say insiders on the Hill, a good chance to be enacted into law by the 94th Congress. . . . Introduced last week was Sen. **Bill Brock**'s (R., Tenn.) new Health Care bill (see *NR*, June 7) which will cost estimated $2 billion a year as against the $30 billion to $50 billion tab of alternative **Kennedy** plan.

■ Welcoming the unexpected: Gov. **Edmund Brown Jr.** of California has his liberal supporters puzzled if not stunned. Take these two statements. How does Gov. Brown propose to handle welfare payments in a recession economy without raising taxes? "Welfare recipients," answers Brown, "will have to reduce their standard of living." About prisons and criminals: "I think people who break the law should be punished. It should be swift and sure. . . . I think you have to have rules and apply them whether it's the President or a pickpocket." . . . Also startling: the recent statement on corporate profits by Chairman **William Proxmire** of the Banking and Currency Committee. "We should not lose sight of the fact that for 25 years corporate profits have been falling in relation to other income shares in our economy. It would be foolish and counterproductive for us to adopt any policy designed to penalize them further." . . . Finally, it was three liberal Democratic members of a House subcommittee, **Donald Fraser** of Minn., **Lester Wolff** and **Jonathan Bingham** of N.Y., who went out of the way the other day to congratulate U.S. Ambassador **John Scali** for his December blast at Third World power plays in the UN.

■ Interesting thought. The **Portuguese** military government has ruled that no public opinion polls are to be published in the course of the campaign for the April 12 elections. . . . You might say that **Henry Jackson** is the Soviet's least favorite presidential candidate. According to recent Tass dispatch, Jackson "is the henchman of reactionary circles of the military-industrial complex, the right wing leadership of the AFL-CIO, and of Zionist organizations." . . . The Belgian radio reports that President **Mobutu Sese Seko** of Zaire, who forbade religious instruction in the schools some time back, has decided to close down all churches in the very Catholic former Belgian Congo. Mobutu has also done away with Christmas and replaced it with a triple holiday of his own choosing, June 24, when the people of Zaire will celebrate a) their currency, b) their constitution, and c) "honor the country's fishermen."

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out so clearly in the article. If all our critics tried to be as objective it would be much more constructive.

London MARTIN ENNALS
Secretary General
Amnesty International

Whose Responsibility?

In reading George Nash's article, "The Ordeal of Amnesty International," I came across a peculiar passage in which Mr. Nash refers to William Rusher's estimate that "because of the 'dissent' of those who deserted or fled into exile, probably 1,500 of the American draftees who replaced them died in Vietnam. . . ." It is curious and bothersome that Mr. Rusher should blame the deaths on those who committed civil disobedience; it seems quite apparent that the reason some 1,500 men died is that they were placed in a life-risking situation by the U.S. Government, and it is irrelevant that this or that group died as a result.

To explain by analogy: the reason a man, say Mr. Smith, died during a robbery is not that Mr. Jones was not there to be robbed, but that the robber pulled the trigger on Smith. If I ask Mr. Rusher to lend me his son to be placed on the Indianapolis 500 Speedway in mid-race, and Mr. Rusher and son refuse, and in his place I put a Mr. Johnson, Johnson's death is attributable, morally, to my action of having placed him there, not to the Rushers' avoidance of the situation.

Okinawa LT. H. C. PETERSON JR.
USMC

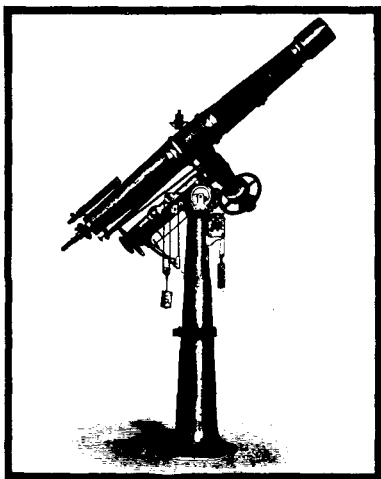
If Lt. Peterson is going to argue by analogy, he ought to pick his analogies more carefully. Enforcing the draft laws is not the same thing as committing robbery: the former was lawful, and indeed obligatory; the latter is not. A better analogy would be the government's requirement that we pay any taxes we owe. To the extent that tax dodgers succeed in not doing so, the rest of us must obviously pay more. Similarly, to the extent that Vietnam draft dodgers succeeded in escaping military service and its inevitable risks, these have to be assumed by others —of whom an estimated 1,500 lost their lives. —WAR

Muck

Some months ago in these pages I asked, "Will Mr. Harris Ever Learn?"

To make my point as clear as possible, suppose we asked the survey question: "Do you like Senator Fulbright and strawberry ice cream?" If 47 per cent of our sample said "yes" we do not know very clearly what this means. We could not, for example, report that 47 per cent of the sample liked Senator Fulbright.

This elementary point—that useful survey questions must be simple and "clean"



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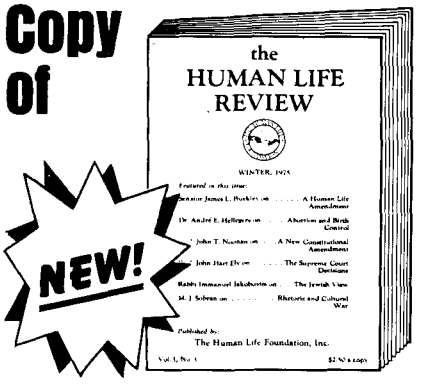

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—continues to elude Mr. Harris. Indeed, he fills what is supposed to be his rebuttal ["Mr. Harris Cries Foul," Feb. 14] with survey statements which are, almost without exception, choice examples of enigmatic verbal stimuli.

In an unconscious way, Mr. Harris recognizes the ambiguity of his questions and has adopted a format suited to this confusion. Less and less these days does he give readers the entire questions and the full breakdown of responses. Instead, he offers fragments of questions, or paraphrases their meaning. The reader is discouraged from trying to interpret anything for himself; he must place his faith in the One with the gift of unraveling What America Believes from a maze of survey results.

The objection to Mr. Harris' questions is not, principally, that they favor a particular group, person, or ideology—which is what Mr. Harris appears to be most insecure about. The objection is that the questions are muck, and that a waste of human resources occurs in collecting, publishing, and worrying about the answers.

College Station, Tex. JAMES L. PAYNE

Whose History?

Knowledge of history has never been the monopoly of one man. Except for Dr. Goebbels. Hence we have, in addition to Herodotus, other good old Greek hands such as Thucydides and Xenophon. This detail was apparently overlooked by Mr. Erik v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn.

In response [Dec. 20] to my letter [Nov. 22], he claims that I do not know history "*really*." He agrees, however, that Louis II was crazy, which is like Glockenspiel to my ears. But, "he was intensely beloved." Here we go again: does this "really" make Louis II a "legitimate" ruler? Further: in spite of the "large number of anti-Nazi ditties," Munich was the Holy See of the Nazi movement. And Munich is and always was the capital of Bavaria.

The issue of my November 22 letter was the Congress of Vienna and the so-called Holy Alliance. We must agree that the Congress of Vienna occurred in 1815, whereas Franz Josef I ascended the throne in 1848. Even in the old imperial Austro-Hungarian schoolbooks Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn can find reference to the 1848 revolutions directed against the "legitimate" Habsburg rulers. Was Franz Josef also "intensely beloved"? Perhaps. But I remember how "simple people" felt during my school years in Vienna and how the citizens of Austria described him as *der alte Trottel*, the old fool.

Gardena, Calif. ROMAN MAKAREWICZ

Re: the statement by Erik v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn that southern Germany may have been less than enthusiastic about Hitler.

In 1934 I lived in Munich and heard many times a comedian named Weihs Ferdl in the Platzl opposite the Hofbräuhaus, poking fun at the terrible prattler, repeating this night after night. In northern Germany he would have been torn to shreds by the brown-shirted terror, but in Bavaria—at least at that time—the Gestapo felt it was not wise to tackle the popular comedian.

My observations seem to confirm Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn's remarks.

Fort Wayne, Ind. E. C. KOERNER

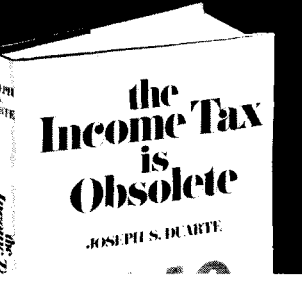
Clinton and the Jesuits

I am in basic agreement with Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn's defense of Cardinal Danielou and Pope Paul ["Farley Clinton and the Jesuits," Dec. 6] against the animadversions contained in Clinton's article [Oct. 11]. Pope Paul's thought is traditional in the best sense of the term. And any extensive reading of Danielou's work makes quite clear how committed to orthodoxy he always was. So on this score Kuehnelt-Leddihn is quite justified.

On the other hand, a response which finds it necessary to defend Danielou by linking his thought with that of Teilhard de Chardin and Karl Rahner does the Jesuit cardinal a great disservice. It is really the Farley Clinton error in reverse. Danielou's personal remark to Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn is scarcely very important as a defense of Teilhard's thought; if Kuehnelt-Leddihn can produce passages from Danielou's writing where he explic-

(Continues on page 237)

PRICE CONTROLS OR TAX REFORM?



Direct income taxes transfer money from the private sector to the public sector. When the market is bypassed and replaced by a bureaucratic distribution system the market mechanism is rendered powerless to control prices and government controls become inevitable. About 40% of income is now taxed so the market is operating with only 60% effectiveness and getting weaker. Can this trend be reversed?

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THE WEEK

■ For God's sake don't anyone tell Senator Birch Bayh about the German study of women murderers showing that their favorite weapon was the frying pan. Next thing you know "Saturday night skillets" will be banned and you'll need a permit to flip your flapjack.

■ Andrei Sakharov reports that Soviet authorities have sentenced Georgii Vins, a Baptist minister, to five years in prison followed by five years in exile for "infringing the material rights" of other believers—i.e., accepting their contributions. Last fall, Sakharov had asked the World Council of Churches and the Synod, then meeting in Rome, of the Roman Catholic Church to intervene in Vins's behalf. To the best of our knowledge, neither of them responded. Vins's father, by the way, died in a prison camp in the Thirties.

■ Paul Nitze, a member of the U.S. SALT delegation from 1969 to 1974, recently told a Los Alamos, New Mexico audience about the Soviet delegates to the SALT talks. Nitze said one-third of the Soviet delegation at the very first session of the SALT talks was involved in espionage work. The executive secretary of the Soviet delegation, Nikolai S. Kishilov, was a senior KGB agent who had earlier been expelled from Finland for espionage. The Soviet press, Nitze said, also played its part: "When we moved into our offices in Helsinki, it was found that a Tass correspondent had rented a room overlooking them. It was equipped with telescopes, antennas, and various other gadgets. It soon became apparent that all but the most secure telephone communications were being monitored." And so all aboard for the next big attack on the CIA.

■ In this age of gloom and doom, when the academic establishment is predicting permanent austerity, nothing is more comforting than to reread what the intellectuals were writing a few years ago. John Maynard Keynes, in 1930, predicted the abolition of scarcity and the institution of three-hour shifts. John Kenneth Galbraith, in 1958, proclaimed that "in a world where production is no longer urgent we can obviously view an increase in voluntary idleness with some equanimity." In *The Future as History* (1959), Robert Heilbroner argued that a faster pace of industrial growth was sufficient justification for totalitarian socialism, because "the road to abundance leads subtly but surely into the society of control" ("free choices of employment," said Heilbroner, might leave "undone the tasks on which the community depends"). Robert Theobald, in 1961, explained that "our feeling that we do not have enough comes from our failure to use the available resources well, rather than from our need for more." And Herbert Marcuse, in 1970, spoke of how the "liberating blessings of technology and industrialization" would make possible a "society in which work becomes play." In the Sixties, government intervention was supposedly necessary to promote faster industrial growth. Now, government intervention is supposedly necessary (and obviously effective) in preventing industrial growth. The goals change, but the solution remains the same.

■ Guess who is giving more headlines to the charges of domestic CIA spying than the *New York Times*? The Soviet press. There are of course no secret police activities to speak of in the Soviet Union. Because people who speak of them tend to become unheard of.

■ The Communist rocket that killed 14 schoolchildren in Phnompenh received front page coverage, but evoked no uproar from the crowd that would have vented anguish and outrage had the bomb been made in the U.S.A., or launched by our allies into, say, a North Vietnamese schoolroom. And recall the outrage when U.S. bombs accidentally struck the hospital of Bach Mai. The Left's expressed indignation is, as we saw during the long Vietnam War years, selective. Indiscriminate bombing designed to produce terror among civilians as well as destruction is a modus operandi that we all, conservatives and liberals alike, have come to expect from the Communists, to whose tender auspices we are now urged to entrust the entire population of South Vietnam and Cambodia.

■ It may or may not be cause and effect; however: Back last fall Horatio Flores de la Pena, Mexico's secretary of national resources, in a state of heady exhilaration over Mexico's vast new oil discoveries, was making statements like: "Mexico will never be the Trojan horse of the multinational corporations" and "Mexico will not sell its oil to the United States at under OPEC prices." Come January Congress passes the new foreign trade bill and lo and behold, Venezuela and

Shine, Perishing Republic

The Turks turn inward, reassessing plans;
The Greeks are sullen when our Navy calls.
Astrologers in Saigon tap their fans
Interpreting the scrawls upon the walls.
In Lisbon, as another evening falls,
The government is fearful of the dawn:
The organized disorder and the brawls
Suggest the Azores as a likely pawn.
America, preoccupied and drawn,
Frets irritably at domestic things.
Demosthenes would only bring a yawn
Inveighing over danger in the wings.
So shall we perish, striving to conserve,
While baser powers concentrate on MIRV.

W. H. VON DREELE

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

Inflation is apparent in the cost as well as the contents of the four volumes of the federal budget. This year they cost $26.50, up $6.30 over last year. The four volumes contain 1,092 pages. George Washington wrote his first budget out in longhand on a single sheet of paper. But, then, George Washington's Administration did not budget $3 million to pay beekeepers for bees killed by carelessly sprayed pesticides. James Polk of the *Washington Star-News* looks at it this way: "For every dollar you pay in income taxes next year, the government will have to borrow another 50 cents to make ends meet. . . . Two hundred years ago the infant nation began by borrowing a mere $8 million to help underwrite the revolution amid the spirit of '76. The debt is now roughly 76,000 times higher than that."

■ A lot of Republicans voted against the President in the 76 to 8 vote on Mr. Ford's proposed increase in the price of food stamps. Robert Dole (R., Kan.), who had to scramble for reelection this year, said that the GOP is too weak to be able to afford votes that seem to be "anti-people."

■ Food stamps for thought: While the President tries, in vain, to increase the cost of food stamps, the government is running "public service" commercials on radio urging people to find out if they are eligible for food stamps. About 8 per cent of the population are using food stamps. That is an increase of about two million since September.

■ Representative Bella Abzug (D., N.Y.), who is not just another pretty face, has joined sportscaster Howard Cosell, who is not just another pretty face, in expressing interest in seeking the Democratic nomination to run for the Senate against James Buckley next year. If she gets the nomination, New Yorkers would have, well, a choice, not an echo. Ms. Abzug is the most authentic New York leftist in Congress since Vito Marcantonio served there in the years around World War II. Former Mayor John Lindsay, currently a TV star on ABC's *AM America*, former Congressman Ogden Reid, and former Mayor Robert Wagner are just a few of the other Democrats interested in the nomination. If Ms. Abzug is the only lady in a (say) six-person field, she might be able to get the nomination.

■ Silver lining department: The sharp rise in unemployment has guaranteed the success of the all-volunteer Armed Forces in meeting their recruitment goals. The Army fell short of its recruitment goals in nine of the first ten months without the draft, but has exceeded its goals in each of the last five months. At an inner city District of Columbia recruiting office recently the crowd got so large that a recruiter says he "started handing out numbers, like in a barber shop."

■ Is it that the railroads in the Northeast are *in* an emergency, or *are* they a national emergency? The House Commerce Committee has authorized $347 million in "emergency" funds for the Penn Central and Erie Lackawanna railroads. That is $72 million more than the Senate saw fit to authorize. The Penn Central, applying a little pressure, announced that if it doesn't receive a truckload of federal cash, pronto, it will stop accepting freight shipments immediately, and will shut down completely at the end of February.

■ Ah, the hazards of politics in the electronic age. Senator Henry Jackson used a five-minute film on network television to announce his presidential candidacy. The film began with a shot of Jackson, wearing black tie, telling a packed Los Angeles ballroom: "Tonight I want to announce my candidacy . . ." Pandemonium. That piece of the film was shot about a week before the network announcement, at a fundraising dinner. Jackson made his "I want to announce . . ." non-announcement, then paused for the cameras to record the pandemonium, and then said something like, "But, of course, I can't do it tonight." Most of his audience quickly understood that the "announcement" had been for the benefit of the cameras that were filming for the real announcement on network television. But two wire service reporters, hearing the mock announcement, tumbled over one another in a mad race for the telephones. Jackson's press secretary had to tumble after them to keep them from sending out a false alarm.

■ Outgoing Attorney General William Saxbe—who is outgoing in several senses—leaves for the Embassy in India with this parting shot: "the nation's efforts to reduce crime—including those of the Federal Government—have been a dismal failure." This in spite of $3.2 billion in federal grants to local law enforcement agencies.

■ Here we go again. Henry Kissinger is angry because Congress and the press are criticizing him. So President Ford has issued a statement—reviewed in advance by Kissinger—saying that he hopes Kissinger will have the support of the American people on his trip to the Middle East and Europe. Press Secretary Ron Nessen declined a direct answer when asked if Kissinger had requested such a statement. —CATO

Ecuador, the only two Latin American OPEC members, are no longer listed among our most favored trading partners. Well, sir, there's much whooping and hollering and exchanges of hot notes between Caracas and Quito and Washington, and cries of Yanqui imperialism fill the south-of-the-border skies. That pan-American conference Henry Kissinger has been pushing in Buenos Aires is angrily called off. Foggy Bottom says don't blame us here at State, we can't control those idiots up on the Hill. But when the tempest finally blows out to sea, Señor Flores has vamoosed with it. Sitting at his desk in the Ministry of National Resources is Señor Francisco Javier Alejo who is saying things like: "[I see no need whatsoever] for Mexico to become a member of OPEC."

■ Everyone from Kurt Waldheim to Walter Mondale to Idi Amin has proclaimed Namibia (née South West Africa) an independent country. They want it to be ruled by the guerrilla outfit, SWAPO (the South West Africa People's Organization), and the UN has officially recognized SWAPO as the "legitimate representative of the Namibian people." South Africa, which continues to rule South West Africa in defiance of the

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UN, stoutly maintains that, because of the differences between the tribes, it should instead be divided into several bantustans—an attitude Waldheim, Mondale, Amin, and SWAPO have denounced as imperialist. Comes now Chief Clemens Kapuuo, the leader of the Herero tribe. He says no thanks, let the Ovambos (the major tribe in SWAPO) have their independence, but don't let them rule us. In Ovamboland itself, SWAPO was able 18 months ago to persuade 97 per cent of the population to boycott an election called by South Africa. This January 55 per cent of the Ovambos turned out for a similar election, in spite of SWAPO's call for another boycott. What odds do you give that Waldheim & Co. will allow these facts to come between them and their ideology?

■ The Palestinian Liberation Organization, having gained a measure of diplomatic respectability and international support, now signals that it is prepared to take a negative attitude toward terrorism in the form of aircraft hijacking. Four gunmen who hijacked a British plane from the Persian Gulf to Tunis in November are reported to have received long prison sentences. Though many hijackers thus far have escaped punishment, the new line makes sense from the standpoint of the PLO and Yasir Arafat. With the backing of the other Arab states, the PLO now represents the Palestinian interest in any negotiation that may occur. Whether the PLO will remain in that role over the longer pull is open to question; many think that, given the choice, West Bank Palestinians would opt for King Hussein. Nevertheless, Arafat's new line on terrorism—if it proves to be more than verbal—strengthens his hand internationally, and this, in turn, means that terrorist acts in the immediate future will presumably be anti-Arafat in political content, designed to forestall any possibility of a negotiated settlement. Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi of Libya, it is noted, opposes any Arab-Israeli settlement and his political requirements now appear to diverge from Arafat's.

■ A nasty little guerrilla war, sputtering on for the past 13 years in Ethiopia's Eritrean province, has recently erupted into furious combat, with some 1,600 lives lost last week. Why? Take the following ingredients: 1) The province of Eritrea constitutes Ethiopia's entire 500-mile coastline. 2) Libya and Syria, not slow to appreciate that control of that coast would turn the Red Sea into a virtual Arab lake, have been supplying the secessionist Eritrean Liberation Front with quantities of sophisticated arms and equipment. 3) The fall of Haile Selassie broke into Ethiopian somnolence, loosening the bonds among its diverse ethnic groups. The mere 6,000 ELF members, largely Moslem, operating among the three million people of Eritrea and the 25 million of Ethiopia, now see within their grasp the undoing of Eritrea's absorption by Ethiopia in 1962. But a lot more may be undone as their struggle becomes a factor in the Mideast crisis, not to mention its great-power complications. The U.S., it is sobering to recall, is Ethiopia's traditional supplier of arms.

■ Ida Fuller, the nation's first Social Security recipient (card 000-00-0001), has passed away at age 100, after contributing $22 to the program over the years and receiving benefits of $20,940.85. Had she also been the last, American workers would get a pay raise of almost $80 billion a year (over 25 per cent of the federal budget is from Social Security taxes), which they could invest in private pension plans to receive three to four times the benefits they will eventually receive when the Federal Government taxes their children and grandchildren to take care of them. The whole thing is a Ponzi game.

■ YALE NOTES. The American Bar Foundation has decided to make Yale President Kingman Brewster an Honorary Fellow for his contributions to the legal profession. Inasmuch as Mr. Brewster's most memorable contribution was his express doubt that the legal system could give a Black Panther a fair trial, it makes you sort of wonder a) why any association of lawyers would honor a man who despises their profession, and b) why a man would accept an honor from a profession he despises. Next year's nominee: William Kunstler? . . . Yale Chaplain William Sloane Coffin Jr. joined a group of clergymen of various Christian denominations in signing a controversial theological manifesto, which proclaims *inter alia* that there *is* a God, and furthermore that He has on His mind things other than politics. Then, within a fortnight, Coffin announced that he will leave Yale. *Post hoc, propter hoc?*

■ After finding a woman guilty of welfare fraud, Judge Arthur Sherman of Cambridge, Mass. ordered her to repay $1,511.64 to the welfare department. At $15 a month. Then he ordered the welfare department to increase her payments so that she could pay off the debt.

I. Realignment Politics

In the near future, Doubleday will publish a new book entitled *Mediacracy* by Kevin Phillips, author of *The Emerging Republican Majority* (1969). The appearance of this book will be a major political event, and will provide a focus for serious strategic discussion: Phillips sets forth an analysis of American politics that could provide the basis for a new majority coalition between now and 1976, and, of course, beyond.

In passing we note that though critics have had some fun with the title of Phillips' earlier book, given present Republican fortunes, the demographic analysis and the political conclusions of *The Emerging Republican Majority* remain fundamentally sound, and indeed were borne out in the presidential elections of 1968 and 1972.

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In *Mediacracy* Phillips argues that the moment is at hand for party realignment and the formation of a new popular coalition. He supports his case by an analysis of large changes that have taken place in the American political equation.

According to Phillips, we entered during the 1960s the "postindustrial era" and witnessed the emergence of a new social class. A decisive shift of emphasis took place in the economy, a shift from *manufacturing* to *knowledge*. By 1980, an estimated 40 per cent of the national income will be spent on knowledge-related activities, compared with 25 per cent on manufacturing.

Some facts and figures from Phillips: In 1948 the Federal Government spent $1 billion on research and development; in 1974 it spent $20 billion. In 1940, national expenditure on education was $3.2 billion; in 1973 it was $96.2 billion. In 1940, 3,300 PhDs were awarded; in 1973, 39,900. Between 1940 and 1973, the number of tax exempt foundations rose from 314 to 28,000, with assets totaling more than $20 billion.

The same period saw an explosive growth in the federal bureaucracy. For example, in 1953 HEW spent $1.9 billion; in 1970 it spent $52 billion, and is still mushrooming.

Coordinate with all this, spectacular growth took place in knowledge-related industries, led by emerging behemoth corporations like Xerox and IBM. Media growth kept pace, with TV networks becoming a multibillion-dollar industry, the circulation of mass news magazines *Time* and *Newsweek* increasing by 585 per cent, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post/L.A. Times* launching national news services.

As Phillips argues, in the postindustrial era "an increasingly large, affluent slice of America earns its bread from handling and applying knowledge," and, key point, this fact is far from ideologically neutral. Social "change is as essential to the knowledge sector as inventory turnover is to the merchant or manufacturer. Change keeps up demand for the product (research, news, theory, and technology). Postindustrialism, a knowledge elite, and accelerated social change appear to go hand in hand. . . . Instead of having a vested economic interest in stability, as did previous conservative business establishments, the knowledge sector has a vested interest in change—in the unmooring of convention, in socioeconomic experiments, in the ongoing consumption of ideas."

The post-1964 array of Great Society programs constituted an economic bonanza for this emerging new class. "Massive expansion of federal spending on indirect subsidies/services aimed at the poor was as much of a subsidy to the emerging knowledge and services economy as tariff and railroad land-grant legislation was to post-Civil War industrialism. Various studies of Great Society programs have shown how little money—often 10 to 25 per cent—actually made its way through the maze of bureaucratic, consultant, and business-contractor overhead into the hands of the poor." As the "social concern of the Sixties caught hold, there was an ever increasing array of bureaucrats, foundations, planning groups, and business concerns that developed a major economic stake

Behrendt, *Het Parool*, Amsterdam Rothco

in, and lobbied for, the services/indirect subsidy approach." Having become "a major item of commerce, social concern spread to law and finance. In the bull market of 1965-68, Wall Street investment houses gobbled up securities with names smacking of scientific technology, research, planning, communications, ecology, advanced housing or educational techniques, informational systems, computer hardware and software, antipollution technology, and so forth. . . . Fortunes made in these fields created new concentrations of wealth (which showed striking availability to left-liberal presidential candidates in 1968 and 1972)."

What has thus emerged is a new elite with a vested interest in federal spending, social experiment, and liberal ideology. The idea of the perfectibility of man becomes a key postulate backing economic interest (thus, perhaps, explaining the special venom reserved for skeptics like Banfield, Herrnstein, etc.). "For the first time in memory," writes Phillips, "liberalism has become the ideology of a privileged sector of the population."

As Phillips sees it, the presence of this elite with its aggressive assertion of its interests is the central factor in the politics of the postindustrial era. In the past, aggrandizing elites—banks, railroads, big business, Wall Street—have in time evoked a countervailing popular resistance which asserted itself in defense of non-elite interests.

Phillips therefore looks for just such a countervailing thrust on the part of the middle class, a kind of "middle class Counter-Reformation." The "new class seems out of kilter with the beliefs of the majority." Therefore anti-new-class politics should set its sights on "Great Society-type programs dealing with welfare, schools, taxes, and neighborhoods. . . . Race-conscious social engineering is bound to remain an issue." New coalition politics will not embrace pure free market doctrine: "despite general hostility to new taxation, there *are* new program sectors—from health insurance to nursing homes—that the working-class-turned-lower-middle-class do support. What they do object to are the social programs favored by the knowledge sector for the bilateral benefit of the new class and the urban-rural welfare class."

New coalition politics, drawing together traditional

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conservatives and populist blue collar and former blue collar sectors, should attack the economic interest and the ideological underpinning of the new class and defend the economic interests and the sociocultural preferences of the middle class majority.

What the moment requires politically, Phillips suggests, is leadership that senses the waiting opportunity and moves persuasively to seize it.

II. Senator Jackson

According to the polls, Senator Henry M. Jackson trails only Governor George Wallace in support among Democratic voters, and he thus begins his avowed efforts to secure the nomination in a relatively strong position.

From a conservative standpoint Jackson is probably preferable to any Democrat likely to be nominated, certainly far preferable to Kennedy, Muskie, McGovern, and the like. Indeed, what appeal Jackson has for conservatives is certainly enhanced by his surrounding environment of those offending Democratic personages.

Jackson has always been an informed advocate of strong national defense—a key issue, and maybe *the* key issue; he harbors no illusions about Soviet beneficence, and in negotiations with Soviet leaders he might be expected to be a tough bargainer. On the other hand, under the pressure of his presidential ambitions, he has shown signs of waffling and even of reversing himself in order to pick up liberal support.

Though long a supporter of the Vietnam War, he has just now come out against even the modest supplemental aid requested by President Ford, though he surely knows that this is only a fraction of the support being provided by the Soviets to their North Vietnamese client. Jackson is also mouthing slogans about the "repressive" Thieu regime, which brings to mind the kind things he had to say about the Mao regime in China following his visit last year to the mainland, and also his hints that his support for the independence of Taiwan is less than firm. Jackson has even suggested recently, though vaguely, that the defense budget could stand some cutting.

In view of these zigs and zags, it is difficult to know how seriously one should take his commitment—made during the 1972 Florida primary—to a constitutional amendment against busing. On the face of it, not much would be likely to come of this under a Jackson Administration in hock to the powerful liberal wing of the Democratic Party.

In the Middle East, Jackson has always been an especially firm supporter of Israel, and an important source of his political strength now comes from Americans committed to the Israeli cause. This raises another kind of question about his candidacy. It is clear that any stable settlement in the Middle East will be reached, if at all, only through a delicate process of negotiation in which the Israelis will necessarily have to make substantial concessions regarding territory seized during the Six Day War. This fact in turn raises the question of whether Jackson is so committed to the Israeli position, whether out of personal emotion or political necessity, that he could not participate effectively in the negotiations. His role in the Jewish emigration dispute with the Soviets, admirable in some ways, also underlines that question.

What one would not expect from a Jackson Administration is any attempt to cut back on federal spending or on the bureaucracy, any assault on the vested interests with a stake in big federal budgets, or any tendency to trim wasteful and expanding "Great Society" programs. In this regard Jackson is on the wrong side of the great political cleavage emerging in the middle 1970s.

Profit

It's what's sitting in the kitty
After taxes (state, Fed, city),
FICA, salaries, and pensions,
Fringes every union mentions,
Charities and sacred causes,
Time for Moms and menopauses,
Bites from biggy politicians,
Funds for antitrust positions
Decimate your credit standing.
That's why business ain't expanding.

W. H. VON DREELE

III. Governor Wallace

Though the ultimate 1976 intentions of Governor George Wallace remain unknown, no doubt exists that he is now running and that his Montgomery-based organization is a smoothly functioning and sophisticated outfit. Thus a recent three-page letter over the Governor's signature accomplishes a number of things. It encloses an opinion poll ballot, in which the recipient is invited to choose his own priorities among national issues. It solicits funds, even in small amounts (the Wallace campaign has collected $1.8 million so far). It focuses on Wallace's own view of what the key issues in 1976 will be, and, important point, defines them in such a way that it will be impossible for Wallace to be a national candidate for the Democratic Party. The pertinent portion follows: "I plan to continue speaking out on some issues that are quite disturbing to me. I'd like to list a few of these for you:

1. Crime is increasing at an alarming rate and the judicial process is in desperate need of reform.
2. Inflation has been eating up your paycheck because the federal spending has doubled in the last five years.
3. I'm gravely concerned about the issue of amnesty. Why should draft dodgers and deserters get off with a slap on the wrist when thousands of our

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American boys proudly served . . . many died in defense of freedom?

4. I am concerned that most politicians in Washington want to take a lot of your money and give a guaranteed income to people even if they are healthy and refuse to work.
5. I am worried that in less than ten years America went from clear military superiority over the Communists to now being militarily weaker than the Communists."

About this list, a few observations. Item 2 hits the big issue for any politics of popular protest: the ever expanding slice of the dollar taken by the Federal Government, to the benefit of definable interests with a stake in heavy federal spending, but not to the benefit of the average Middle American. Item 1 is shrewdly chosen. After a brief pause, the crime rate has taken a sudden leap upward, and is bound to be a voting issue in 1976. Item 3, on amnesty, is a big symbolic issue—and a central one for many liberals, because amnesty involves an implicit moral condemnation of the war. Wallace's stand here, in itself, is enough to read him out of the national Democratic Party. Item 4 seizes the inside track on another good populist issue. Item 5, on national defense, represents a new emphasis in the Wallace agenda, and perhaps a significant one, since national defense has been a key issue for traditional conservatives during the post-WW II era.

Finally, the Wallace letter under discussion includes the following important postscript: "Many of my friends have called me recently or written about my health. They have seen on TV or read in the newspaper stories about how my health has greatly improved. Well, I want to tell you personally that these stories are true. I still have a little pain at various times during the day. But the doctors say that the pain will get less and less as time goes on."

Wallace's course remains unclear, but he has shrewdly chosen the issues to stress, and he is very much on the scene as a political force for 1976.

The Unresourceful British

"Britain's Botched Bonanza" is what the *Sunday Times* (London) titles a gloomy feature article on lagging production of Britain's potentially golden North Sea oil fields. Early in the Seventies as seagoing rigs sank their bits through the wild waters off the northern coast of Scotland all was cheer. Britain had discovered vast new sources of energy and as soon as those drilling platforms were in operation the petroleum that would take care of Britain's balance of payments deficit and ease Britain's reliance on foreign sources of energy would begin to flow. The Arab boycott of a year ago and the quadrupling of the price of oil in the ensuing months were not unmitigated disasters. Whereas the difficulties in finding and developing might have made oil exploration in the North Sea unproductive at $3 a barrel (the then world price), at $10 or better it would pay the major oil companies and consortiums not only to put into production the major North Sea fields, but to develop the smaller, marginal ones as well and to continue their exploration programs.

This time a year ago, bankers from all over the world were standing in line begging to be allowed to produce the vast sums of money needed to build these platforms in waters so rough that in one field the riggers were able to work only 51 out of a consecutive 181 days. Then two things happened. One was beyond the control of the British government: the inflation that sent the cost of the platforms soaring nearly 100 per cent over the estimates of a year earlier. The second was that the British government, anxious to tap the profits of the North Sea even before the first barrel of oil had been pumped, announced a series of new taxes, royalties, and ownership rules and decorated them with all sorts of socialist rhetoric about bloated capitalists, multinational imperialism, and getting our fair share. Briefly, these included: 1) a Petroleum Revenue Tax that would rake in something between 45 and 65 per cent of the total oil profits (after the companies had written off 150 per cent of capital costs, which capital costs were not, however, to include future interest charges); 2) 51 per cent government "participation" in the North Sea plays at some indeterminate time and with no fixed compensation—if any; 3) the usual 52 per cent corporation tax on profits; and 4) of course, the 12.5 per cent royalty would not be forgotten. This was the outline of what was in store for the companies but no times, dates, places, conditions, or definite figures were given (and have still not been). Both the bankers and the companies ran these projections through their computers and came up with an estimate of a government take of about 80 per cent on oil concessions that would take several billion dollars to develop.

What happened, and what might have been predicted, was that a) the bankers pulled back, b) at least one major British oil company (Burmah) hit the skids and had to be bailed out, c) North Sea exploration tapered off, d) the development program—which means production of North Sea oil—fell a full year and more behind schedule. And, even more serious for Britain, some of the majors faced with the prospect of borrowing money at usurious rates—if indeed they can find it, given the uncertainty as to what profits they will be allowed to retain—are talking of taking their cash and their expertise elsewhere—to Indonesia, Nigeria, the United States.

It is essential for the Labor Government, concludes the *Sunday Times*, to rethink its banana republic policies vis-a-vis the North Sea operations. "Here is an opportunity without parallel in our economic history. The confusion that exists today is the mark of a country which has botched a golden chance. But even now, with care, we have the time to put it right."

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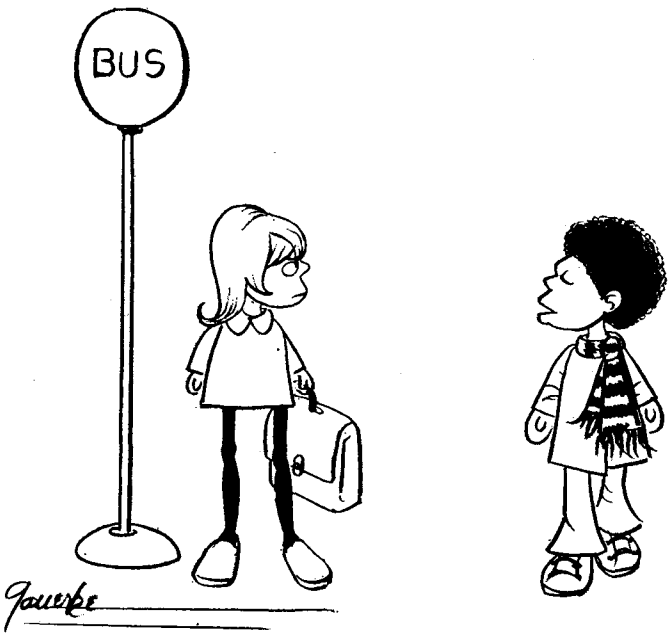
Thatcher's Counterrevolution

Part of Edward Heath's dismal record—the Blasted Heath, he came to be called—was not his fault: because of changed electoral rules, his Tories lost three of four elections with roughly the same proportion of votes vis-a-vis the Labor Party that Heath's predecessors had used to win three of six postwar elections. In any case, the Tories are, historically, unforgiving toward failure. But part of it *was* his fault: his handling of the labor union problems in 1970-72. He came on strong against inflation, strikes, and government controls, and won the first few battles. Then in 1972, battered by the coal-miners' strike, he backed down when the dockers threatened to paralyze the country. A more resourceful or ruthless leader might have got the British public behind him in the fight with the unions. Then again he might not, thirty years of superwelfarism and union entrenchment having done a lot to change Britons' way of looking at things.

But Mr. Heath's successor, Margaret Thatcher, is going to give it a try. She is a conservative Conservative, the founder, with Sir Keith Joseph, of the free-market Center for Policy Studies. She is an eloquent defender of the "middle class" values of decency and order, and pointedly refuses to confine them to the middle class. Mrs. Thatcher may suffer from some of the same electoral liabilities as Heath—she is seen as a bit chilly, a bit too upper middle class, and is still unpopular in some circles because of her decision as Minister of Education to stop milk subsidies to schools in favor of building more schools and hiring more teachers. But she has flair and assurance, she is witty and a cutting debater in Parliament. She will give Harold Wilson as good as she gets, and she will undoubtedly try to lead the Conservative Party to the right, providing at least a shilling's worth of difference from Labor.

For the moment, at any rate, the shrieks arising from the liberal-left are music to the ear. Thus, the *New Statesman* speaks of the "ominous change" that is overtaking the Conservative Party, describes Mrs. Thatcher as the candidate of "populist" protest against socialist policies, and concludes editorially as follows: "She first came to public prominence as the hard-nosed Tory spokesman on education, displacing the conciliatory Edward Boyle. He was her first trophy; Mr. Heath has been her second. Banishing any memory of what Lord Butler, above all, managed to persuade the postwar public was 'modern conservatism' looks very much as if it will be her third." Hear, hear.



"Not me. I refuse to be bused until the buses themselves are racially balanced."

Yesterday's Radical

The Harvard University economics department is under attack for, of all things, not containing enough socialists. This, in a department where several of the most prominent faculty members have explicitly endorsed socialism or "planning" (see "Out of the Closet," *NR*, Feb. 14). It all started a few years ago when four self-styled radical economists, including the son of Chester Bowles, were denied tenure. Only one out of ten junior faculty at Harvard achieves tenure, but the radicals could only conclude that their failure was the result of discrimination rather than incompetence. "We identified ourselves explicitly with forces attempting to overthrow capitalism," said Samuel Bowles, "therefore we could not agree with those who held the heights of established orthodoxy on what 'useful knowledge' was."

Radical, on this definition, means an acceleration rather than a reversal of prevailing trends. The "radicals" just add up the plans of Senators McGovern and Humphrey on how to spend other people's money and multiply by ten. They begin with policy advice, then spin theories to rationalize their preconceptions. Bowles says the radicals are persecuted "because our calculations aren't precise, our predictions aren't specific." Translated, that means the radicals are unwilling to expose their rhetoric to the basic rules of logic and evidence. "The worst thing that could happen," says Jim O'Connor, a Marxist at San José State, "is that the radicals should have to defend themselves before they are ready." Give them tenure first, and wait a while before asking if they can add and subtract.

Harvard's economics department has long been dominated by ageing and unreconstructed Keynesians. There is one Marxist, Stephen Marglin, but the *Harvard Crimson*'s "Confidential Guide" says "few undergraduates . . . are receptive to his line." There are two or three economists, like Hendrick Houthakker and Martin Feldstein, who seem not unduly hostile to unregulated

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competition. There are zero representatives of the monetarist interpretation of inflation and unemployment. Harvard's answer to this imbalance is to promise to recruit another dull Marxist to fill the only opening. The American Economic Association has formed a committee on political discrimination, presumably to promote quota hiring of Marxists and other 1848 "radicals." Meanwhile, until they can create their noncompetitive utopia, the radicals will have to compete for privileged positions like everyone else.

The Rich (and Non-Rich) Get Poorer

The Joint Economic Committee has published a study which demonstrates, according to columnist Tom Wicker, that "under the American tax and economic system, the rich generally get richer and the poor get poorer." The "rich" in this study are defined as families of four with an income of $20,883, and the "poor" are those with an income of $9,320. Actually, this typical low income family of four is a one-earner family in which a young wife stays home and cares for young children. The typical high income family is headed by a middle-aged male who has experienced many salary increases and promotions, and the family income includes the incomes of two or more working members.

The Committee's first question is whether or not inflation was most pronounced in goods which are more important to low income budgets. The Committee report notes that "food items consumed in greater quantities by lower income families have increased most in 1974." But this is based on a 1964 survey of what low income people ate before food stamps and when relative prices were entirely different. In any case, other items typically bought by the poor rose less in price than did their upper income counterparts: rents rose 5 per cent in the year ending October 1974 while costs of home ownership rose 12 per cent; transportation costs rose 14 per cent, but public transportation costs rose only 3 per cent. Without considering the obsolescence of the food figures, the study nonetheless concludes that the cost of maintaining a low or high standard of living rose by the same amount, 25 per cent, over the past two years.

In 1974, the biggest increase in living costs was not food or fuel but taxes. Social Security taxes for an average family rose 26.5 per cent, income taxes rose 21.6 per cent, and food prices rose 11.9 per cent. In the last two years, income taxes rose 53 per cent for our hypothetical low income family, and 41 per cent for the high income family. The percentages are somewhat misleading, however, since the end result was a tax of 10.2 per cent for the low income family and 18.4 per cent for the high income family. Social Security taxes rose 38 per cent in two years for low income families, and 56 per cent for intermediate and high incomes. In short, everyone was soaked, rich and poor. If congressional liberals were really upset about these soaring taxes, they would control the double-indexing of Social Security benefits (which by no means go only to the poor), and they would support the Buckley bill to index the tax system. Instead, they generously offer to rebate no more than $200 of the $566 in added taxes imposed on intermediate families last year, or of the $902 on those "rich" families who are getting by on less than half the congressional salary.

Watching Governor Brown

He's holed up in a tiny room;
  He told the Berkeley profs to blow;
He ruminates on doom and gloom
  While keeping fiscal spending low.
He's got the liberals upset;
  The welfare lobby's really blue.
That doesn't mean I'm for him yet,
  But so far it's a good debut.

W. H. VON DREELE

Notes & Asides

■ M. J. Sobran:

Take this first letter I have ever written to a publication as a measure of my anger at your audacity. I would dispose of your ignorance regarding "Of *Ms.* and Men" point by point, but for brevity's sake ask instead: would you use the same mocking tone toward the blacks or Jews? Your condescension is historically characteristic of the oppressor. Small wonder that *Newsweek*'s Alexander writes: "When women struggle to liberate themselves what is liberated first is rage." There is real humor in all humankinds' struggle for freedom but its source is pathos and for NATIONAL REVIEW to publish such a misinformed, inept, attempt at wit is irresponsible.

Nancy M. Lynch
Boston, Mass.

Dear Ms. Lynch: Thanks for your thoughtful letter. Your analogy, however, strikes me as somewhat overwrought. If the sufferings of women are comparable to those of Jews and blacks, why isn't this fact recognized by . . . Jews and blacks? Put it this way: When did you last hear a black leader try to convey the magnitude of his people's sufferings by comparing them to those of the housewife? Or a rabbi complain that the hard-

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ships of Jewry have rivaled those of the waitress and the secretary? I submit that your worst problem is moral hypochondria. Cordially, Joe Sobran

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Saving the world isn't easy. Sometimes shortcuts have to be taken by our saviors.

For instance—Harriet Van Horne, in her "Pride Goeth" column, wrote:

> "Cracks are appearing in the precious public confidence that makes the system work," says a page one story in the *Wall Street Journal* this week. "The reasons are varied and mostly emotional—ranging from high interest rates to Watergate."

That *Wall Street Journal* story read:

> Cracks are appearing in the precious public confidence that makes the financial system work. The reasons are varied and mostly emotional—ranging from high interest rates to Watergate.

The column to which Miss Van Horne referred, to suggest "the system" was breaking up, was totally financial in context, but leaving in that key word wouldn't have helped the little lady to save us that day. Miss Van Horne knows we're stupid, amoral, hateful louts all and if truth needs to be shaded or deceit the mode, it's for our collective good.

Trouble with you, Buckley, is you think silly things like truth and intellectual honesty are important. Don't you want to save us? Cordially,

W. Brett Perrine
Eastchester, N.Y.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I was in New York a while ago to visit some friends at Columbia and was much amazed at the transformation that had begun in about late 1970 and has crested, or at least I hope so, now. Briefly put, the Fifties have come back to haunt us. The seniors, my classmates (note the regretful tear quickly blinked back), were all running around in those goddamned caps and gowns to a dozen silly ceremonial functions, complaining like hell but still going, wistfully gazing out at the rotted water towers of Harlem that surround dear alma mater, and wailing about how nobody could get a good job with a future for their expensive diploma. Not since I stopped tending bar have I seen so much booze around. Those who couldn't get in, gazed wistfully at the law school and tried to remember the phone number of that obnoxious uncle who had once offered to set them up in the insurance business, while the lucky few who had made it through the pearly gates wondered whether Renner, Menner, Menner, Fenner, and Blitz would give them two weeks to defend poverty-stricken dope fiends every once in a while, and what the hell was the name of that new singles bar where all the hip young attorneys gathered? At the law school the applications ran 12 to every seat, the medical school sent an invitation if they wanted you to bother to apply, and the college library was kept open 24 hours a day during exam week, and was packed every minute. Moneytalksnobodywalks. As Russell Baker said, it makes you long for the good old days of kidnapping the dean and firebombing the physics lab.

Here in Mudville, all is calm. My brother was just appointed to the police force in a town that has a large Puerto Rican population and no Spanish-speaking cops, so, after seeing the name, the first thing they asked him was if he spoke Spanish. He grinned coyly and told them that he spoke it all the time when he was a kid, but has forgotten most of it by now since we have lost the habit of speaking it at home. He left them with the impression that it would be relearned instantly. My brother speaks no Spanish and never has. My father and I are to teach it to him in the next two weeks. It gets a little confusing though, since I only seem to see him at dinner time, where the conversation tends to shift to food. I can see his first arrest now: *Tienes derecho de una milanesa de ternera con papas fritas* . . . (You have a right to one veal Milanese with fried potatoes . . .)

What more can I say? Yours,

Ed Vazquez
Point Pleasant, N. J.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Since watching your TV programs over two years, I noticed your health has deteriorated. My 15-year-old son admires your discussions with various guests.

I told him you are educated and intelligent but you never learned a daily routine to keep your strength. He wants to know if you were studious at his age and if my advice will help you now.

Now for necessary habits you must develop in order for everyone to "enjoy" your TV and newspaper thoughts:

1. Eat whole wheat bread or wheat germ or oatmeal daily.
2. Drink two glasses milk or ¼ lb. pot cheese, buttermilk or farmer cheese.
3. Order salads, carrots, string beans (green and yellow vegetables).
4. Eat potatoes, nuts, beans. The protein, oil, and fruits you most likely enjoy.

Besides good food, take a daily walk where there is air and get to sleep before 12:00 or take a nap during the day. Sincerely,

Mrs. M. Feiner
34 Hillside Ave.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Feiner: Thank you for your advice. But one's health, on television, is exclusively the doing of the makeup technician, who could not care less whether you have consumed a vitamin in years. A skilled technician could reverse the appearance of the two Dorian Grays. But I thank you for your wholesome advice, and will heed it, except that if I followed your second instruction, I would perish of whatever it is you perish from if you have too much cholesterol. Cordially, **—WFB**

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Capitol Issues

GEORGE F. WILL

PRESIDENT FORD was not quite accurate when he said, through his press secretary, that the 94th Congress did nothing in its first month. Actually, the Congress did just what Congresses usually do, and precisely what any reasonable person would have expected this Congress to do. A reasonable person remembers this old rule: if you visit the parks of the world's capitals, you will see a lot of statues erected to honor the people who made the crucial decisions in history. But nowhere will you see a statue erected to a committee. And Congress is a 535-member committee. Its forte is making simple declarative statements: "yes" or "no," especially "no." In recent years its proudest moments (meaning the moments when it felt proudest) involved saying "no" to two Supreme Court nominees, "no" to the SST, "no" to bombing in Indochina. Now the 94th Congress, which advertised itself as a startlingly new creature, has shown itself willing to say "no" to Mr. Ford's proposed increase in the cost of food stamps, and to say "no" to his proposed tax on imported oil, and to say "yes" to tax cuts even larger than those Mr. Ford proposed. Exhausted by these rigors Congress went off on vacation, in honor of Mr. Lincoln.

We now have congressional government in the sense that Congress has the power and the will to stop presidential initiatives across the full range of domestic and foreign policies. A cascade of simple declarative judgments, however emphatically rendered and eloquently argued, does not constitute a policy. But it constitutes an effective anti-policy. As a result, Mr. Ford's appalling budgetary projections already are (if you will pardon the expression) inoperative. Things will be worse—much worse—than he has said they will be.

Congress' Anti-Policy

When unveiling his fiscal 1976 budget Mr. Ford projected a staggering deficit of $52 billion. But Mr. Ford said that it would be this low only if Congress would agree to a series of cuts in domestic programs that he must have known the Congress would not agree to. So from the start he was, in effect, projecting a one-year deficit of $70 billion. But even that figure badly understates the real budgetary problem, which is not the deficit but the total borrowing the government will have to do to finance its operations.

The $70-billion figure assumed that Congress would not invent any expensive new social programs or that if Congress did, Mr. Ford could veto them, and make his vetoes stick. But Mr. Ford has trouble making vetoes stick these days. And two days before the January unemployment figures were announced, Senators Jacob Javits (R., N.Y.) and Harrison Williams (D., N.J.) introduced legislation that would authorize spending $7.8 billion to create a million "public service jobs." And it is just February. Imagine how much new spending a panicky Congress will be able to pack into this year, once it recovers from being struck dumb by those January unemployment figures: 7.53 million persons, up 930,000 in a single month, up from 7.2 to 8.2 per cent of the work force, the highest level since 1941.

Those numbers hit Washington, including the Administration, hard, in spite of the fact that the Administration had predicted that unemployment would go to a high of about 8.5 per cent this summer. The speed of economic decline has shocked Washington, including those who are not surprised by the direction in which the economy is moving. But in this observer's judgment, the few people here who have their eye on the ball—the "borrowing ball"—think the worst is yet to come.

Go back to the $70-billion figure, and add *at least* $10 billion for new congressional spending. Then add about $24 billion for borrowing by "off budget" agencies such as the Export-Import Bank, the Postal Service, the Federal National Mortgage Association, and scores of others. Then add $20 billion for the revenues lost when Congress cuts taxes more than Mr. Ford wants and refuses to raise those taxes (e.g., an excise tax on natural gas) Mr. Ford wants. Then add the $12 billion that the government will borrow from its Social Security, highway, and other trust funds—all of which must, of course, be paid back. Then add some petty cash—say, a few billion dollars in loose silver—to allow for some of the private borrowers who will default on government-guaranteed loans.

Add 'Em Up

Now. You who were alarmed by the $70-billion figure: add up those figures. And bear this in mind: testifying to Congress about the numbing prospect of having to borrow enough to finance even the $70-billion "on budget" deficit, Treasury Secretary William Simon noted that $70 billion is more money than was "raised by all borrowers, public and private, last year—or any other year in the past." Obviously government borrowing is going to place intolerable, insupportable burdens on the nation's supply of capital. It will dry up the capital which will be needed in the unlikely event the economy begins to recover next year. And when government borrowing depletes available capital, thereby sending interest rates soaring, the government will create money, thereby pouring gasoline on the inflationary fires that will have been made worse by the high interest rates.

Today Washington is still staring glassy-eyed at those January unemployment figures, which came out at the end of the week when the 1976 presidential scramble picked up momentum. Republican Senator Howard Baker of Tennessee mentioned to Elliot Richardson that he expected that the two of them would cross paths in the New Hampshire primary 12 months hence. So Mr. Ford promptly announced that he will be a candidate for election, regardless of the state of the economy. But this first 25th Amendment President gains nothing from announcing his intention to run. A lot of Republicans have come to the conclusion that Baker has reached: incumbency is not worth having in these times. I believe the Republican nomination will be contested by at least half a dozen candidates, and I am more sure of that than I am that Mr. Ford will be among them. □

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Those Good Old Colonial Days

The Protracted Conflict

JAMES BURNHAM

THE "OIL CRISIS" became a "crisis"—and it is a genuine crisis, not just one more of those media crises we are served up daily at breakfast—because it happened so suddenly. The embargo and the quantum jump in the price of petroleum arrived overnight; neither our economic system nor our minds were prepared. If there had been a past series of partial embargoes and if the price had been escalated gradually, both the system and our minds would probably have adapted pretty well as we went along.

Looking back from now, we can realize that we shouldn't have been all that surprised. Something of the sort was in the cards. These ingredients were given: 1) the super-rapid economic growth of the Western nations; 2) the essential role in this process of an exponentially increasing application of energy; 3) the derivation of this energy more and more preponderantly from petroleum; 4) the expanding reliance on locations outside Western political jurisdiction as source of the petroleum; 5) the appearance of a non-Western, nuclear-armed superpower. The mixture of the five was going to produce, sooner or later, the kind of crisis that erupted in 1973.

Some Might Have Beens

All five of the ingredients had to be present to make the crisis inevitable; in the absence of any one of them, the lid could have been kept on. If our rate of economic growth had been more modest, or if we could have reduced the role of physical energy in our growth, or if we had not made petroleum our primary source of energy, or if we had obtained the petroleum (however much or little we used) from locations subject to our political control, we could have avoided this present jam—though doubtless we would have found some other jam to get into. And the crisis could have been quickly and easily solved, on the unlikely assumption that it would have begun, if Russia had not become a superpower. Without Russian power and nuclear missiles poised out there in the steppes, asserting political control over noncooperating oil wells would have been child's play—in fact, would never have come into question, since the wells would not have stopped cooperating.

The first of the five ingredients—rapid growth—was perhaps one of those blind historical surges that are outside the realm of deliberate human intent, and a large increase in the application of physical energy was no doubt entailed by rapid growth. The other three ingredients, however, were subject at least in some measure to human will, or rather to the conflict of human wills. It was possible for the Western nations to have done something about one or more of them—one, as we have seen, is enough—that would have headed off the present crisis.

It would certainly have been possible for the Western nations, if they had set their minds and will to it, to make sure they did not lose the political control they held at the outset over the easy-oil regions. Most Westerners seem to have overlooked the connection between the end of Western colonialism and the loss of Western control over resources shifted to the sovereignty of the ex-colonies and ex-dependencies. (Granted their own doctrine of sovereignty and their retreat from colonialism, what justifiable complaint on the score of oil do the Western nations have, really, against the Arab states?) It was, further, within the power (if not the will) of the Western nations, as recently as the immediate post-World War II years, to prevent Russia's becoming an imperial, nuclear-armed superpower.

We're not going to be able to get all that water back to this side of the dam. Still, a review of how we got where we are and why, and of what might have been, can help suggest how to do better this time.

Because of the novelty and unexpectedness of the oil episode, and its complex interrelationship with the Arab-Israeli conflict, both rethinking and new thinking are a necessary prelude to new policies—which are obviously required since the old have collapsed. In his article, "Israel, the Arabs, and Oil Money," that *NR* publishes in this issue as part of its continuing examination of the multidimensional Mideast crisis, Herbert Cahn avoids obsolete formulas and sharpens new, fresh ideas to use in analyzing the new set of facts. He rejects such almost automatic usual assumptions as that a big drop in the current price of petroleum or a "settlement" of the Israeli-Arab conflict would necessarily be to our benefit. He shows that there is a largely unexamined and very puzzling question concerning the fact that the Arab nations continue selling their petroleum above the limit of their ability to put the money to rational use. He stresses the basic but often overlooked distinction between the "consuming" and "nonconsuming" oil exporters. And he calls attention to the vulnerability as well as the power of the Arab rulers.

Mr. Cahn's article, moreover, is one of the few—very nearly the first—that locates within a single integrated frame all the major Mideast counters: Israel, Arabs, oil, petrodollars, Russia, the Western nations.

What Is and What Is To Be Done

Nearly everyone, I think, will find Mr. Cahn's analysis clarifying—or at least provocative. The proposals he makes on the basis of his analysis will take longer for digestion and judgment. The idea of a long term indexed loan (i.e., adjustable for inflation) to sop up surplus petrodollars is beginning to get attention here and there. The threat to induce "a power vacuum on the Persian Gulf" presumably means the resort to force in the event of "strangulation" that Secretary Kissinger and the President have been talking about.

Mr. Cahn's most controversial suggestion is for "an accommodation with the Soviets" in the event of a showdown on the Gulf. He makes explicit the assumption on which this rests: that today (though not a decade or two ago) "the damage or benefit to the West of any policy is a secondary consideration for them; the primary consideration is their own substantive gain." "The reader," as Mr. Cahn recognizes, "may have a different view." Meanwhile he has laid his cards on the table. □

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Israel, the Arabs, and Oil Money

The Arabs are learning that they too could lose the game of global politics being played in the Middle East. And lose it without taking the rest of the players with them

HERBERT CAHN

IF YOU HAD as much money as you could spend and were given the option of more money or petroleum in the ground, which would you choose? Suppose, additionally, that the petroleum is in the ground under your own feet, while the money would have to be stored in potentially hostile banks. And even more, suppose you could be sure that by merely withholding petroleum until you again needed money you could cause its price to rise almost at will.

These hypotheses describe the reality facing certain Arab exporters, and the remaining question is, why are they selling oil at all? Why this futile accumulation of liquidity? They must be selling out of fear for their very exposed position, and out of hostility to Israel.

What is the relationship between the Arabs' sale of oil to us and their hatred of Israel? It is the fact that without our cooperation they cannot now prevail over Israel. Perhaps some time in the distant future they might, since both numbers of dollars and numbers of people appear to be on their side. But the distant future is dangerous for them because of the factiousness to which they have always been addicted both within their countries and between them, and which has often come to the aid of the Israelis. The Arabs need us to defeat Israel, and they need us now, not in the 1980s or 1990s. They must hold the Damocles' sword of the embargo over Europe and Japan so that, because of our need to maintain our alliances, they can force us to relinquish Israel through the blackmail of our allies. If they stopped selling merely because it is unprofitable, they could no longer threaten an embargo.

The other reason they sell is fear. We have no vital interest in the survival of the governments on the Arabian peninsula except as a source of oil. The people of Sweden or Missouri don't much care whether the peninsula is under the control of the Baathists, the Brazilians, or the sheiks, and the sheiks sell us oil because they must avoid the creation of a geopolitical vacuum. They are selling oil because if they withheld it they would become vulnerable to the depredations of adventurers, internal and external. Unless it is protected by a major power, the Arabian peninsula is defenseless, and it is the richest prize in the world. Were the United States to stand aside, then the sheiks would have to rely on the Russians exclusively for their protection, or on the ambitious Iranians. It is a frightening prospect for them. Aware of these dangers, the Arabs must ship oil. At the time of the embargo in 1973, much of this had not been thought through. In the interim it has been.

The annual Gross National Product of the free world is well in excess of $2 trillion, and closer to $3 trillion. The international interchange of petroleum, meaning sales of crude from producers to consumers across national boundaries, amounts to $30 billion at $3 per barrel, and to $100 billion at $10 per barrel. This means that in the world supply of goods a windfall of $70 billion per year has come to those nations that export petroleum. Instead of access to 2 per cent of all goods, they now have access to 5 or 6 per cent. (The exactness of these figures can be questioned, but the arguments are based on orders of magnitude, which are correct.) This is a substantial, but not a staggering, shift in resource control. It is smaller than the shift from Europe to the United States at the end of World War II. It would have been easier had it happened over a five-year period, but the resource shift is manageable.

Only a small part of the world's wealth is in the form of liquid resources at any one moment. The free world's pool of foreign exchange reserves is currently on the order of $200 billion. By 1976, or at latest 1977, most of these reserves will have passed into the hands of the oil producers, something like a quarter into the hands of the spenders like Iran and Venezuela, and the balance into those of the liquidity

Mr. Cahn, a Wall Street investment banker, was a Rhodes Scholar and has a PhD in history.

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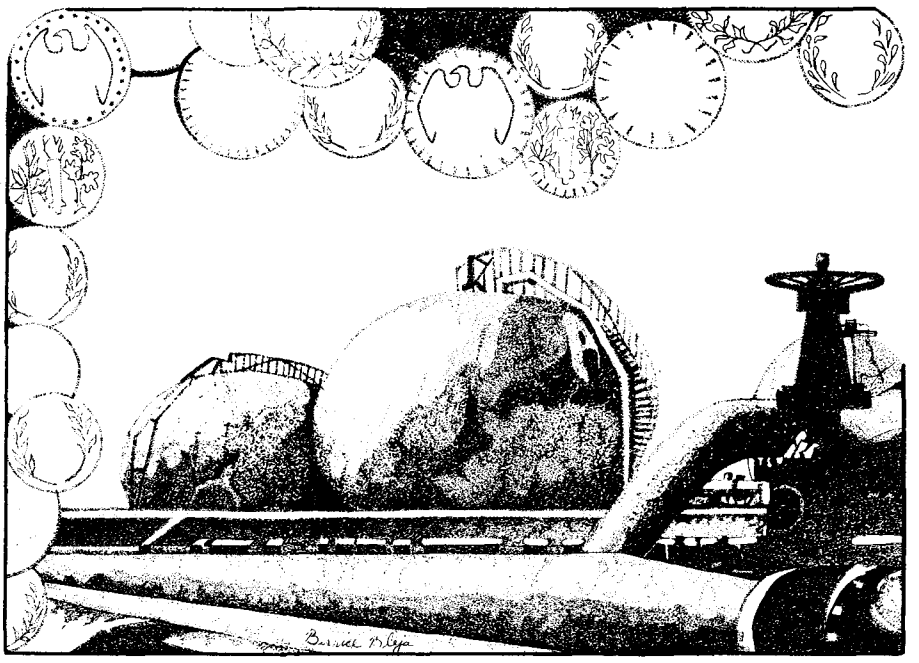
accumulators, mostly Persian Gulf Arabs. The possibility of voluntary long term investments for the quantities of cash generated is negligible. It is paradoxical that the "consuming exporters," like Indonesia, Nigeria, Venezuela, Iran, and even Iraq, which will take substance from our economies through increased purchases of goods, present less of a problem than the "nonconsuming exporters," the liquidity accumulators, who will receive only an intellectual construct, a credit balance in our banks.

Geopolitical constraints make it necessary for them to ship oil, so they must accept payment in something we can afford

The $200-billion foreign exchange reserve of the free world is the money used to finance transnational trade, investments, and loans. The ownership of the reserves, and the capacity of borrowing therefrom, determine the extent to which members of the world community can shift resources to and from each other voluntarily. We know, and the "liquid" Arabs know, that they cannot own all of the liquid monetary reserves of the world. The rules by which we have played among ourselves must be changed. Although the Arabs hold the good cards, geopolitical constraints make it necessary for them to ship oil, so they must accept payment in something we can afford.

THE official policy of the American government at present is that we must force down the price of oil, that we must organize a countercartel to OPEC, the exporters' cartel. This strategy is expected to solve the balance of payments problem of Italy, Brazil, India, etc., which are breaking under the strain of oil payments. It is also expected to stem the flow of exchange reserves into the central banks of the liquidity accumulators. As a solution this policy is akin to trying to press down the volume of water in an overfilled bucket by sitting on it: you can only get your pants wet that way. It is much more elegant to build an overflow valve. If the issue were merely economic, the attempt at price compression might be an acceptable experiment, but we are at the same time dealing with some of the gravest political and military issues in our lifetime, and we must be wary of simplistic gambles.



The overflow valve on the excess liquidity is a simple one: an indexed treasury obligation with a long term maturity. It would be issued to the central banks of certain oil exporting countries. Then, instead of holding hot currency that sloshes around world financial markets and turns every minor crisis into a potential disaster, the holders of the funds would be assured honest purchasing power when their paper is redeemed. For diversity of portfolio, other governments might offer similar securities in their currencies.

Our Secretary of the Treasury has repulsed any such suggestion with a simple argument, implied if not expressed: if we don't do it for our own people, why should we do it for others? Perhaps what he really is worried about is that if we do it for others, the American investor will insist that something of the same kind be done for him. This would undermine the bond markets as we know them, and introduce "distortions" in financial practices. But just because we punish our own savers by inflation is no reason to foist this practice on oil exporters, and even less of a reason for expecting supine acquiescence. Excess funds thus coming into the U.S. or French or German treasuries can be used to finance the oil deficit countries. This leaves unresolved the question of who is to take the credit risk for oil to India, Senegal, Great Britain, and Costa Rica: a valid question for which answers can be found, but coming from a great power, it is not a valid objection to our scheme.

Would the oil exporters, especially the liquidity accumulators, buy such a bond? The specific public opposition by Secretary Simon indicates the approach has already been made. Furthermore, if our analysis of their options is correct, the Arabs have limited choices. This may be the best they can get. Realizing this, will they risk a confrontation with a very uncertain outcome? Despite the current glitter, their long term outlook is bleak—if not absolutely, then by comparison to the present—and they must agree to some accommodation.

But would yielding Israel solve the energy and the foreign exchange problems?

An additional objection to bucket-sitting price compression is that we will have to sit indiscriminately on consuming and nonconsuming exporters, on enemies and friends. The high population exporters, who want only a good price, will be punished along with those liquidity accumulators who want to use their resources to bend us to their political purposes. Can we really afford to

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arouse the animosity of many people in order to solve our problems with a few who have excessive cash balances in our banks? We are better off with a high price because it has other advantages which in the long run may outweigh the pain of the short term monetary distortions. Only if the price of oil is high will alternative energy resources be developed, and the dependence on the Mideast diminish. The Arabs and the Iranians are saying this, but that does not make it untrue.

WHY bother at all about a couple of million Jews? Cannot the national disillusionment which overcame us on Vietnam also overcome us on Israel? If Israel were overrun, the Israelis might well not be massacred by the Arabs. A few would, but that's war. Many would leave to go elsewhere, but many would stay and come to terms, and we have no reason to assume they would be treated worse than the Arabs in Israel are treated today. Jews have lived in the Arab world for centuries, most of the time better than they lived among Christians. When weighed against the potentially cataclysmic consequence of supporting them, how strong is the force that holds us to their side?

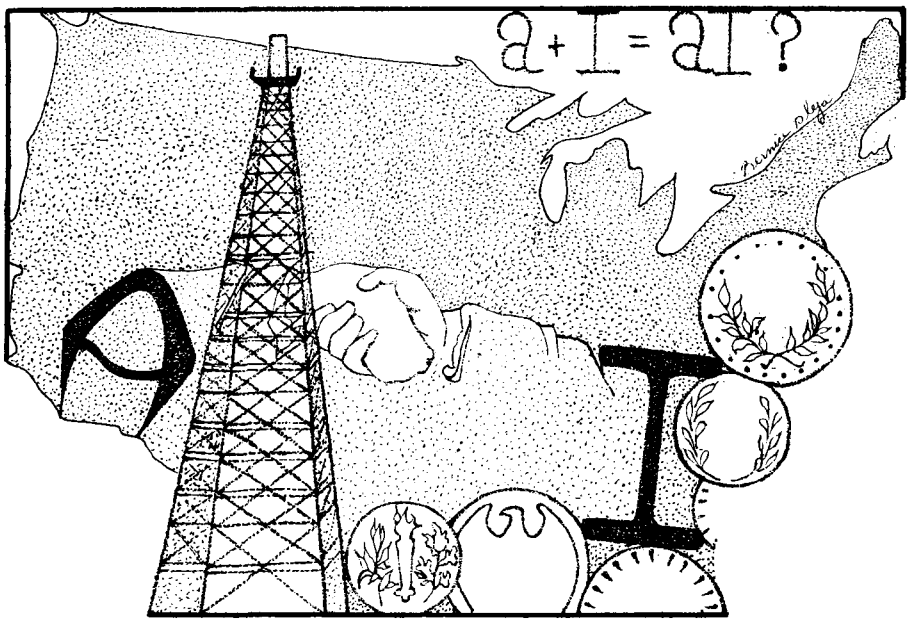
Let us assume the United States decided to abandon Israel as the cornerstone of a solution to the energy problem. This is not going to happen as long as Kissinger is Secretary of State. It is not an option available to him as a human being. One doesn't have to be Jewish to understand that; the factors in the equation are identical for any U.S. Secretary of State. But would yielding Israel solve the energy and the foreign exchange problems? That is what the Arabs say would happen, but would it? It still remains bad business to sell hard petrol for soft dollars, yen, or sterling, or to sell at a lower price, or even to sell against indexed bonds. If the Arabs currently sell under the constraints we have described, one of which is hostility to Israel, they are not going to be a better source of supply because a constraint is eliminated. Much as the Arabs would like to connect the Israel and oil issues, solving the Israel issue to their satisfaction would not resolve the other one to ours.

Walking away from Israel cannot solve the energy and financial crisis; to try to walk away could create a much worse crisis. Over the next few years, when these matters must be settled, we are hostages to the Israeli alliance. The Israelis will not stand idly by while their most powerful ally is switching sides—which, for our own self-respect, we would have to do slowly, over a period of months or years. The Israelis would be the first to notice, and would have to start a new war early enough to make sure, like it or not, that we continued committed to them, though it is difficult to see what else they could gain by this. It would risk a confrontation with the Soviets, because the Israelis would again have to strike toward the Suez Canal, which is of vital importance to the Soviet navy.

Even after times of repeated military defeats, the Arabs have remained stridently intransigent. It is doubtful, with the smell of victory in their nostrils, that negotiations can induce them to take any other attitude. This is not to say that there may not be reasonable or conciliatory men among their leaders, but they must cater to the radicals and firebrands in their own midst for internal political reasons. Under these circumstances a conciliatory attitude on the part of the Israelis, with their national survival at stake, would be suicidal.

Is it a viable alternative for the Israelis to change from being an American to becoming a Soviet client? It would appear superficially feasible. For the Russians, a total dependent in the area could be more attractive than the on again, off again relations they have had with the Arabs. But no switch is likely in the near future because the Israelis would not, except in a last gamble, subject themselves to satellite status, and they have nothing else to offer the Soviets in exchange for protection. Furthermore, the Soviets' position of influence with the Arabs is predicated upon continued hostility to Israel. Therefore, the continued existence of Israel is a sine qua non for continued Soviet influence in the Middle East. Negotiations between the Mideast adversaries cannot, at present, succeed.

To the Arabs on the Persian Gulf, who are the largest exporters, we offer another inducement: protection



We have, at least, a medium term commitment to Israel, but the oil and liquidity crises must be resolved in the short term. Our commitment to Israel, the Arabs say, is the main impediment to the solution of the crises. Petroleum blackmail is the only weapon the Arabs have thus far found which has promised them any chance of success.

How can we respond?

As a first step, we must shore up our alliances. Most of the major Western powers—France is a notable exception—would prefer to follow our lead if we make it strong and credible. For political rather than economic reasons, this requires a show of our willingness to make sacrifices similar to those that will be asked of them. (President Ford has

(*Continues on page 239*)

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THE OPEN QUESTION

Who's a Rip Van Winkle?

LAWRENCE V. COTT

NATIONAL REVIEW's January 31 editorial on the House Internal Security Committee (HISC) was incorrect in every particular that led to its hasty and uninformed indictment. The operative word is "uninformed." *NR* charged that HISC had become "sleepy" under the leadership of Representative Richard Ichord when in fact Ichord transformed the Committee. First the name was sanitized; the old and much reviled House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) was rechristened HISC. Then Chairman Ichord beefed up his staff with experts, former FBI and military intelligence men.

At the time he took over, in 1969, the hearings on the SDS were winding up. A press which had been traditionally hostile to HUAC seemed more interested in reporting the cut of Jerry Rubin's rented costume or the tilt of David Dellinger's chin than what the Weatherpeople were about. Guerrilla theater clowns regularly disrupted sessions of HISC, so Ichord stopped subpoenaing the troublemakers and turned to the arduous and less spectacular work of collecting facts from defectors, from surfaced undercover men, from experts on subversion. He succeeded in taking HISC and its investigations off the front pages, which may be what led *NR* to believe that the Committee had become ineffectual in its final years. (Even the *New York Times* moved the story of HISC's demise back to page 64, and then spent most of the space describing how Father Drinan et al. had succeeded in bringing it low.)

Put a yardstick alongside HISC's record just for 1970-1974, and the papers stand more than two feet high. Not the record of a do-nothing outfit.

Those reports include the Committee's investigation of the Black Panther Party; the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam; *Hearings on Restraints on Travel to Hostile Areas* (prompted by the number of Americans who in wartime popped up in the enemy's capital, Hanoi); and a three-volume set, *Investigation of Attempts to Subvert the United States Armed Forces*—the thorough probe of the disaffection campaign waged through GI newspapers, offbase coffeehouses, and deliberate submission to the draft by committed Communists bent on radicalizing the Army. HISC acquired (and had analyzed) the collected Hanoi broadcasts of Jane Fonda and Ramsey Clark, along with comments by ex-POWs.

NR must have missed the whole *Theory and Practice of Communism* series (I have 11 volumes of that) covering everything from the Venceremos Brigade to conditions in East Germany. One, for instance, is on Soviet antisemitism and how the Communist Party U.S.A. (CPUSA) defends it, another on new CPUSA attempts to penetrate the trade union movement using the tested tactic of falsified job applications.

Committee investigators spent months in 1973 documenting what is behind the violence in correctional institutions, revealing the extent of leftist agitation among prison inmates. The report, *Revolutionary Target: The American Penal System*, also shows how court decisions have contributed to the impotence of jailers.

No, HISC wasn't sleeping, it was wide awake, scrambling hard. Two years ago it produced a valuable report on political kidnappings, principally those in Latin America, showing the links between these revolutionaries and Castroites and Trotskyites in the U.S. Last August the Committee wrapped up a long investigation on terrorism (four volumes), plus a staff study listing every known terrorist group in the world (see *Terrorism, A Staff Study*).

How alert can you get? Ten days after Patricia Hearst was kidnapped HISC was out with a concise report on the Symbionese Liberation Army. Earlier it had probed two organizations related to the SLA—the Revolutionary Union and (especially) the Venceremos Organization, both gun-toting outfits. That HISC report, *America's Maoists*, has few equals. (Note: don't confuse Venceremos with Venceremos Brigade.)

During the big "peace" marches of 1971 HISC held three months of hearings and investigations into the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ). Four volumes (1,625 pages) were produced, with meticulous documentation showing that NPAC was the creature of the Socialist Workers Party (a Trotskyite group, as *NR* knows) and that PCPJ had an itching infestation of CP members.

HISC's own undercover man in the CP and Young Workers Liberation League testified that funds collected for Angela Davis' defense were diverted to pay the YWLL's own telephone and electric bills in New York. The Committee got bales of the CP's confidential internal bulletin, *Party Affairs*.

There was testimony from a Chinese escapee who told of public executions he had seen, of slave labor camps (he gave the brand names of camp exports), of cultivated poppy fields in Kwangtung, and heroin factory #9 in beautiful downtown Canton that regularly ships its product to Macao and thence the world.

ICHORD seemed driven by a desire to educate Congress and the public before it was too late. His men turned in a magnificent job showing the links of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) with the Fourth International in Paris-Brussels, and with their brethren locked in full scale guerrilla war in Argentina. Even the SWP's confidential inner circle documents turned up in HISC reports. Recently, some of the Committee's most effective work was by its minority, led by Representative John Ashbrook. In truth, Ashbrook was probably the best informed, ablest member of the HISC. He was assisted by experts captained by his chief investigator, Herbert Romerstein, a walking encyclopedia on everything about subversion.

How could *NR* not have known the record? Methinks the HISC documents looked too formidable (they *are* eye-baggers) and went, unread and then forgotten, to the library. And HISC was no longer page one stuff. The liberal media want a bad guy (HISC) and a good guy (witness), to be played as poor, helpless, barefoot, and diabetic, and just a tetch left of Bella Abzug. Ichord gave them professors, psychiatrists, experts, chilling facts, and (with one exception) exquisitely researched and documented studies. □

Mr. Cott, formerly editor of Combat, *is a journalist on the West Coast.*

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My name is Tony Jones. I just quit my job as Associate Editor of Harper's Magazine because I had an offer I couldn't refuse.

You see, for some time now I've been hoping to start an entirely new kind of publication. Now the opportunity is here—*if* I can persuade you to help me make the most of it.

No, not by subscribing. I need writers. Researchers. Editors.

Requirements: You are on your own.

And by you, I mean *you*. The new publication I'm asking you to help get started will be produced by its readers. By you, I hope.

As a matter of fact, the whole idea hinges on whether or not you contribute. Let me give you some background:

I was proud to work on Harper's Magazine, and I worked hard on it, but Harper's and other top magazines are committed to publishing the "best" writers in the world. This is understandable. And I agree we need this kind of source.

But this policy locks out communication of another, and in my opinion just as necessary, sort—different, honest, independent messages from the great numbers of intelligent and involved men and women who don't happen to be writers who know editors.

I want to offer a variety of communications from real people about just about anything. Short and pithy. Or longer if it plays that way. I'd have more by-lines than any other publication in the world. *If* my readers really did contribute.

In a real sense, this communication would be a collection of points of view. A swatch of our consciousness. An ongoing biopsy of our civilization.

When I announced my intention to Russell Barnard, the publisher of Harper's, he pledged that if I could actually develop the kind of magazine I wanted, he would publish it.

So I've decided to revive the famous HARPER'S WEEKLY, a national newspaper that flourished concurrently with the monthly Harper's Magazine from 1857 to 1916.

The people who ran that old weekly had the temerity to call it "a journal of civilization." Well, that is exactly what I have in mind for the new Harper's Weekly.

I want *you*, its reader, to write for it. I want you to write about your point of view from where you are. If you are a businessman and you want to talk about business, go ahead. If you are a housewife and you want to write about the effects of permissiveness on children, I think you are highly qualified. If you are a doctor who wants to pick up a pen and write a piece on your secret desire to become a hod carrier, I think it would be interesting.

Do you see it? A magazine containing people's thoughts and shouts. A kind of extended variant of the Op-Ed page of The New York Times, the letters to the editors of all times, hubbubby, and reflective of our civilization.

Frankly, many "experts" say Harper's Weekly doesn't have a chance. Reason? That you won't believe that I really mean what I say about *you* writing for it or researching for it.

Friend, I not only mean it, I mean it so much that *my* main worry about this enterprise is that you *won't* contribute.

I believe we need more exchange. We need more men and women of letters. People who can sit down and think something through and then write about it—not necessarily for posterity but to get the rest of us *thinking*.

Look, I'm also going to go out and buttonhole a person I think we should hear from who may not be a subscriber. And ask him to write. And I'm thinking of challenging some young artists to see if they can do as well with cartoons as old Thomas Nast did. I reserve rights like that. But once again, reader friend, the nub of the magazine will be your contributions, clips, original writing, or responses to other writing.

I've always felt it was a distinctly American trait that we *had* something to say. All of us. And that we couldn't be scared off or even bored off from saying it.

That when it came right down to it, we stood up and spoke our minds and left it at: "That's my opinion, bub."

I believe this is still true. And I love it about us. As for the reading, I believe we have a genuine and unfulfilled hunger to talk to each other.

O.K. If you're interested, you can help us in any of 3 ways.

1. *Do research for us.* As an active reader, you no doubt scan a wide variety of publications such as your local newspaper, specialized newsletters, professional, literary and political journals. Clip and send us items you think deserve attention. For each item we use, you'll receive a credit line and a research fee of $10.

2. *Write for us*, especially about things in your immediate experience that deserve sharing. Published contributions will carry your name and hometown, and you will receive an honorarium of $25.

3. *Support Harper's Weekly.* Take a subscription. Twenty-four issues for $6.

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A JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION

2027

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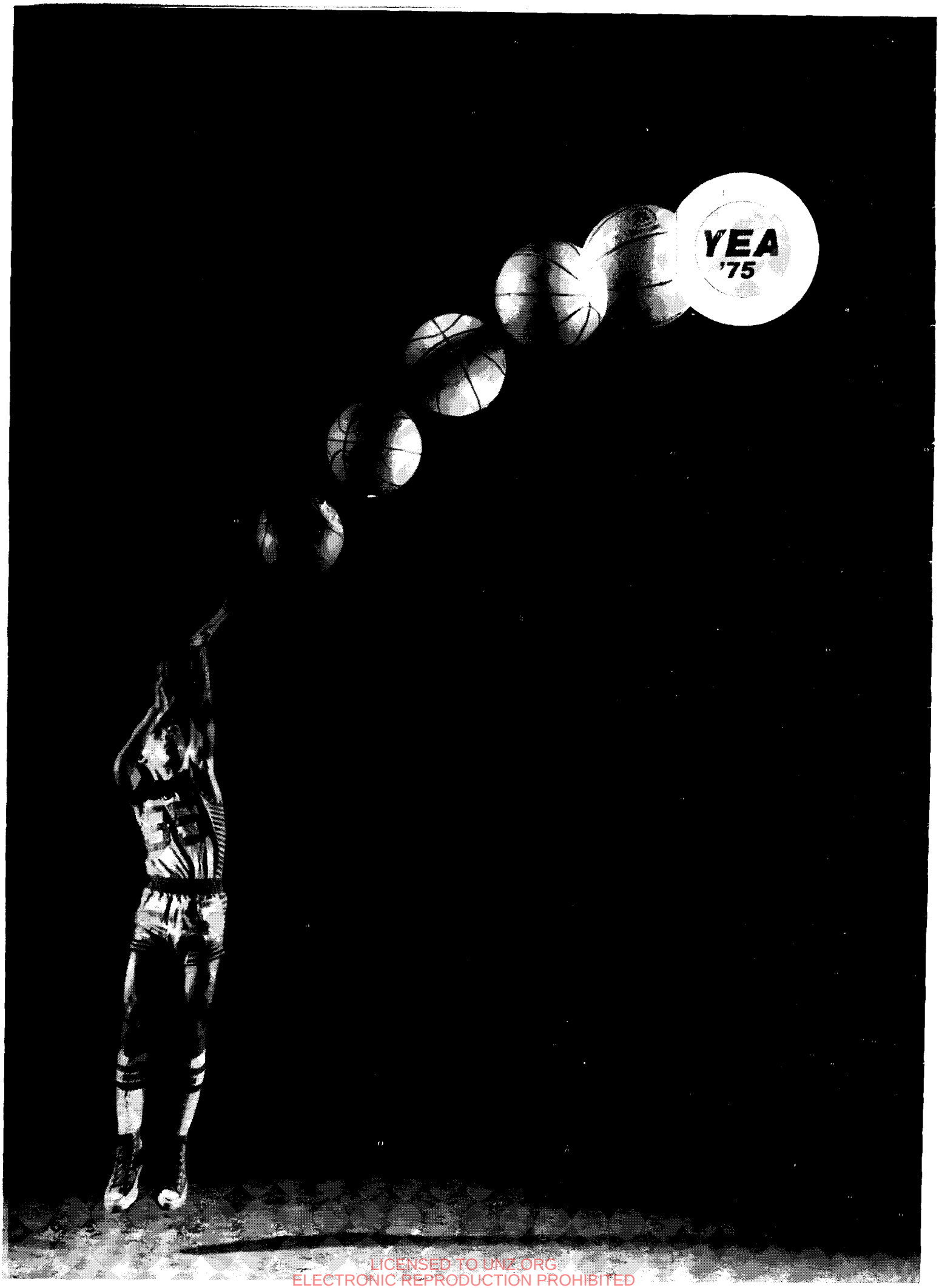

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Year of Energy Action

Must a good job be a long shot, too?

He's just a kid having fun, shooting from the outside.

But he wants to be on the *inside* when he grows up. Where the good jobs are.

In a high-paying trade or profession.

Until recently, the outlook for jobs for minority groups was slowly improving. But then came all those layoffs because the economy stopped growing.

The same thing is happening to other social progress. In a sagging economy, it stops.

Which is why every person of conscience has a stake in seeing 1975 become the Year of Energy Action. Because energy problems are pivotal in America's economic troubles.

This country depends too heavily on oil from abroad. From countries that quadrupled their prices in just one year.

What's needed is to develop more energy right here at home. That means cutting the red tape that's been tying up offshore drilling for oil and gas, mining of America's abundant coal, and construction of nuclear power plants.

Some of these actions may require setting back environmental timetables a little. But what's the alternative? As the government's Project Independence report points out, cutting energy waste cannot by itself resolve America's energy problems. Only by developing new U.S. energy supplies can this country get growing again.

And resume the march toward social progress. Toward better shots at the good jobs.

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Confirm Your Worst Suspicions About

LIBERAL MEDIA BIAS

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If you are a person who has not been deceived by the mind-massage that passes for "objective" reporting in the liberal media, you probably share with us this understanding:

Liberals are no more capable of objectively reporting the news than they have been in running America for the past 40 years.

That being the case, it is important for you to know about HUMAN EVENTS, the Capitol Hill newsweekly written *by* and *for* conservatives. For over 30 years, HUMAN EVENTS has been fearless in confronting the issues ignored—or twisted—by the media.

I want to give you a taste of the tone and style of HUMAN EVENTS. The best way is simply to list some of the bylines from recent issues:

A Who's Who of American Conservatives

Holmes Alexander	Gen Thomas A. Lane
Joseph Alsop	John D. Lofton
Rep. John M. Ashbrook	Phillip Abbott Luce
Prof. Anthony Bouscaren	Clark Mollenhoff
Sen. James L. Buckley	Kevin P. Phillips
Sen. Harry F. Byrd	Prof. Stefan T. Possony
John Chamberlain	Justice Lewis F. Powell, Jr.
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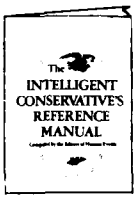

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CONSUMERISM

Neither elected government nor unelected Ralph Nader has been able to look after the interests of consumers. So—novel idea—why not let consumers do it themselves?

What Does Ralph Nader Really Want?

ALAN REYNOLDS

IT'S HARD not to admire Ralph Nader, but it is sometimes even harder to understand him. In the early Sixties, Nader was writing for such conservative journals as *The Freeman* and *Reader's Digest*. He still, occasionally, comes up with marvelous remarks like "there are too many government controls over the market mechanism."

On the other hand, Nader thinks that companies guilty of pollution or contamination should be declared "socially bankrupt" and "thrown into receivership"—which sounds rather like expropriation. Nader also wants "a formal mechanism by which workers can have substantial participation in running the company"—which sounds like syndicalism. He promises that the U.S. "will see consumer demonstrations some day that will make the civil rights demonstrations look small by comparison," and he has urged "basic revision of the whole distribution system and income system."

Despite all this, Nader claims that he rejects ideology. The only label that he will accept is that of "activist," though he hopes to see "an emphasis on a new populism, on a concern for the growing concentration of corporate power." Whether we call it populism or something else, it is evident that there is an ideology at work here, and that we need to consider what Nader says as well as what he does. Ideas, as Richard Weaver reminded us, have consequences.

The Nader *Weltanschauung* can be easily summarized:

1. All significant political and economic power derives from a few hundred giant corporations.

2. Deceptive advertising continually fools consumers into buying short-lived, often worthless products.

3. Corporate leaders deliberately skimp on product safety and environmental cleanups in order to increase profits.

4. Laws designed to control business have degenerated—through public apathy and corporate payoffs—into tools to increase corporate power.

5. The solution to these problems lies in strict limitations on corporate size and diversification, tough laws on safety and ecology, a consumer protection agency, and more public interest activists a) to make sure that government regulators don't cater to special interests, and b) to force corporations to be "socially responsible."

In the early years of Nader's crusade, he concentrated on gathering information about specific shortcomings of various products. Nobody can object to that. It is undoubtedly desirable to have as many sources of product information as possible, and Nader's prodding kept some big companies on their toes. The thrust of Nader's recent activities, however, has been to challenge the basic structure of industrial and political organization: "Once diagnoses are made about various abuses and injustices," says Nader, "and once we know that we have so many more solutions in this country than we are putting into effect, then I think that anybody has to begin to concentrate on structural change." The main change that Mr. Nader has in mind is utilizing government power to break up and regulate corporate power, and his soap box oratory about "corporate crimes" (which "dwarf other crimes") is primarily a means to that end. "If the public becomes concerned first about hot dogs and autos," says Nader, "then they can become more concerned about the companies that produce the hot dogs, etc."

Nader's image of corporations as "quasigovernments" is, really, not particularly helpful. Only government has the power to force people to buy its services, to prohibit people from working in licensed trades, to seize private property, to counterfeit and conscript. Yet "much of what passes as governmental power," according to Nader, "is derivative of corporate power." Corporate political power is real enough, though only one of many factors influencing political decisions. The extent and significance of such influences is directly related to the extent and significance of government intervention between buyers and sellers. When politicians are permitted to decide who shall produce what for whom, resources will inevitably be invested in influencing such decisions. It is characteristic of interventionist economies that labor and capital are increasingly diverted from creating wealth to utilizing political in-

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fluence to determine how a shrinking pie is to be divided.

Corporations as a group have few common political objectives. It would definitely be in the interest of the steel industry, for example, to lobby for environmental legislation to limit the use of glass and aluminum beverage containers. Xerox would love to see IBM broken up by antitrust, and vice versa. One man's public interest is another man's private interest, and all of Nader's "reforms" will add to someone's income.

Even if we accept the rather cynical view that legislation is mainly influenced by money, *Congressional Quarterly* reports that the 147 diverse business lobbying organizations account for only about 34 per cent of all lobbying expenditure. Labor union and farm lobbying exceeds that of business and is concentrated on fewer objectives. Nobody is sure where campaign contributions come from, because some union money is filtered through organizations like the Americans for Democratic Action. Even so, labor, farm, and professional organizations generally lead the lists of big campaign donors. And money doesn't tell the whole story, as is well documented in *The Hundred Million Dollar Payoff* by Douglas Caddy. (In the 1968 presidential election, the AFL-CIO distributed 115 million pieces of literature and deployed 94,457 precinct workers in the service of one candidate. "We devote a lot of time and a lot of money," bragged George Meany; "I think we're organized politically just as effectively, maybe more effectively, than the big political parties.")

Speaking of his own organizations, Nader says, "we have neither governmental power nor do we have the power of corporate wealth." Yet we have it on Senator McGovern's authority that Nader has more power than the head of any corporation, and Nader himself admits, "I am already more effective than many politicians. I would lose rather than gain if I was elected to office." A *U.S. News & World Report* survey found Nader the fourth most influential man in the United States today—topped only by the President, Secretary of State, and head of the AFL-CIO. Nader has, with the help of a few huge media conglomerates, assumed tremendous power—power which is not subject to the sorts of checks he demands for business and government.

Nader's views on corporate economic power are a quaint survival of New Deal polemics. The economy is said to be increasingly controlled by two hundred or so giant corporations which can sell whatever they please by advertising, and can fix prices to ensure monopoly profits. This theory has long been popular among antitrust lawyers, but it has been so thoroughly discredited that it can only be regarded as special interest pleading.*

A favorite shock statistic, constantly tossed about by the Nader crew, is that "the top 200 manufacturing corporations already control about two-thirds of all assets held by corporations engaged primarily in manufacturing." This sounds significant, if not alarming, but it isn't. First of all, the "top 200" is a different list of firms from year to year, and the list and its share are both entirely different depending on how corporate size is measured. Second, the "top 200" statistic is padded with the international assets of U.S.-based multinational firms, and with the assets of financial companies within "manufacturing" conglomerates, like the ITT insurance subsidiary. Third, corporate and noncorporate manufacturing accounts for less than a fourth of GNP, so talking about corporate manufacturing alone exaggerates any impact on the economy. AT&T is not "engaged primarily in manufacturing," nor is the Bank of America, nor is Sears, nor is the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Yet the assets of AT&T are greater than those of GM, Exxon, and Ford combined, and federal spending in two years is equal to the combined assets of the entire "*Fortune* 500."

More important, the share of the "top 200" in manufacturing, or even in the whole economy, has no economic significance whatsoever. If there were only 200 diversified firms each producing for 1,000 markets, that would offer consumers 200 choices of each product. If we broke them into 1,000 firms and required that each make one and only one product, then we would have 1,000 monopolies. The example is not entirely hypothetical. Nader has endorsed the medieval proposal of Mintz and Cohen's *America, Inc.* for federal chartering to "limit the business activities in which a business could engage. . . . Thus, General Motors, say, could be permitted to make automobiles—but not to make locomotives, refrigerators, or any other unrelated product." This would obviously reduce the number of competitors in the refrigerator industry, and require GM to plow its resources back into the production and marketing of more automobiles. Likewise, IBM wouldn't be permitted to make copiers, and Xerox couldn't make typewriters. It is hard to imagine a better plan for insulating monopoly and reducing consumer choice.

Another example of the confusion of Naderite economics is the frequently repeated assertion that, in Nader's words, "corporate fraud and other economic crimes . . . bilk the consumer, in Senator Philip Hart's estimate, of some $200 billion yearly." Not to be outdone, a key Nader aide, Beverly Moore, raised the figure to $400 billion —about 55 cents out of each consumer dollar, and more than ten times the net profits of all manufacturing corporations. Such things as government price fixing, regulation, and import restrictions are included as "corporate crimes," to keep the innocent reader from concluding that we need less government regulation rather than more. The rest is pure fluff, created by assigning numbers to unsupported hunches and to obsolete theories concerning the nature of big business. There is, for example, a wholly arbitrary figure of $40 billion for managerial "inefficiencies" that are simply presumed to inhere in bigness, and $10 billion or more is attributed to "excessive" marketing or advertising. Private sellers, especially large established firms, are deterred

The problem is not that Nader is insincere or malicious, but that he is often wrong

*Those interested should consult two recent pamphlets from the American Enterprise Institute: Paul McCracken and Thomas Gale Moore, *Competition and Market Concentration in the American Economy*, and Harold Demsetz, *The Market Concentration Doctrine*. Also, Yale Brozen, *Our Competitive Economy*.

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One man's public interest is another man's private interest, and all of Nader's "reforms" will add to someone's income

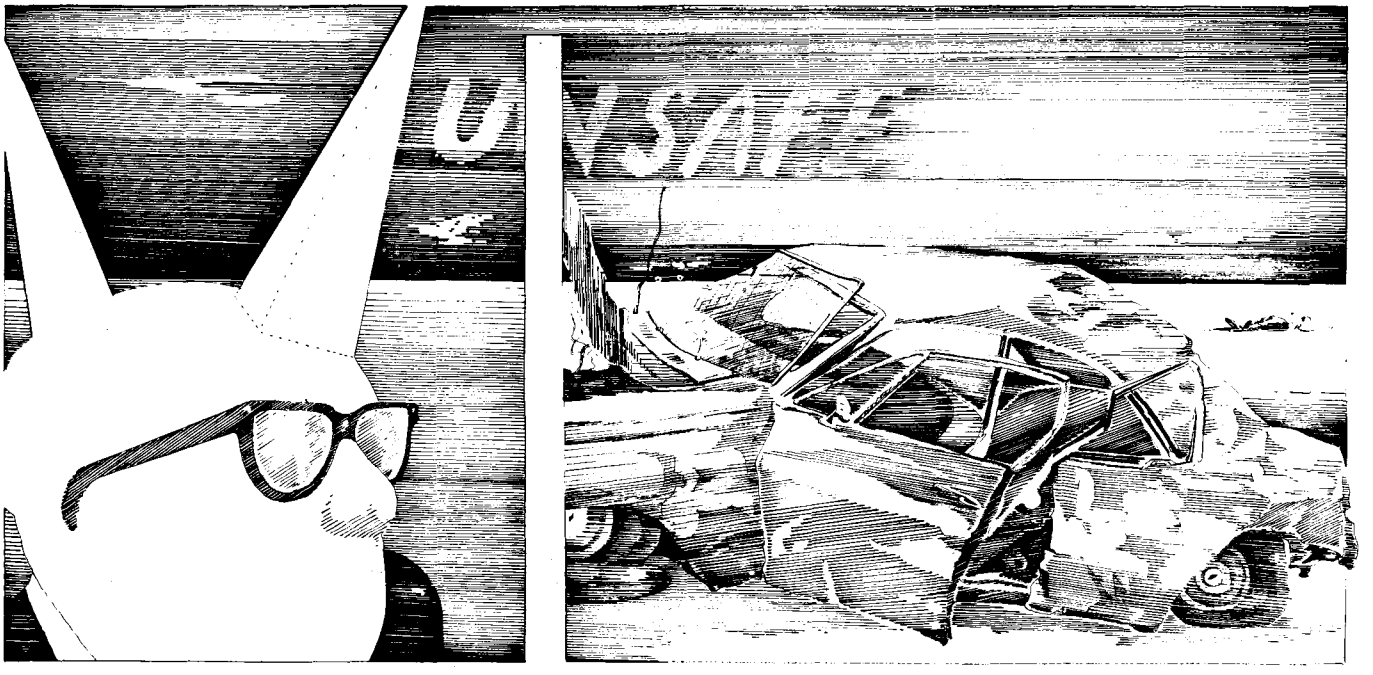
from making such misleading statements by the fear of losing customers if they acquire a reputation for dishonesty. Since the Nader activities are largely tax exempt and funded by unions and foundations, there is no comparable market pressure for accurate information.

MR. NADER seriously understates the costs of safety and environmental improvements, and simply assumes that these costs can be wholly financed out of corporate profits. "Water Wasteland," a Nader study, says "the costs of pollution control in most industries would barely show up on the budget sheet." "The costs of pollution control technology," adds Nader, "should come from corporate profits." Yet all productions costs are ultimately and unavoidably borne by consumers, or the product will not be produced. Massive environmental investments in the paper, energy, and metals industries, for example, clearly contributed to the relative scarcity and higher prices of those products. In pursuit of safety and clean air, Nader is willing to pull companies "down to the zero profit level." But that would result in a massive flight of capital from the afflicted industry—and in turn in a lower supply and higher price than otherwise, with no long term effect on profits per unit of invested capital.

Similarly, the drive to ban low quality is also a drive to ban low prices. It is one thing to say that hot dogs containing chicken meat must be so labeled, and quite another to say that consumers must be denied the option of choosing such cheaper hot dogs. The genteel populists want all cars to be as flawless —and as costly—as a Mercedes-Benz, and all meat to be prime or choice. But there is something to be said for cheap. A $20 power saw is adequate for some purposes, but you should buy the $200 model if you plan to cut steel pipe. A safety-at-all-costs approach would simply ban the cheaper saw (as well as power mowers, skis, stairs, etc.), but the loss of choice reduces consumer satisfaction. Kitchen knives could be made safer, after all, by requiring that they be dull. Banning lower cost items may even reduce health and safety if low income consumers are thereby priced out of the market. Poorer people would then drive wornout old cars and eat little or no meat. Products cannot be perfectly safe without cost increases that would deprive many of their use.

The surest way to avoid possible dangers of new medicines would be to ban all new drugs forever. Stopping therapeutic innovation would surely cost more lives than it saved, yet we have to a considerable degree approached just such a policy. The 1962 Amendments to the Food and Drug Act—requiring that new drugs be proven effective as well as safe—have added at least two years to the testing time required to introduce new drugs, and doubled research costs. As a result, competition has been stifled and there has been a 60 per cent reduction in the annual introduction of new drugs—the good with the bad. Sam Peltzman, in a meticulous study, estimates the annual loss to consumers at over $200 million —not to mention the misery and death caused by delaying or stopping the introduction of effective new drugs.

SUCH complex tradeoffs are involved in most Nader-sponsored "reforms," yet they are rarely given adequate consideration. It never occurs to people that the FDA could be lethal. Similarly, auto safety devices may endanger pedestrians by encouraging reckless driving (Gordon Tullock suggests that the best safety device might be a sharp dagger on the steering column—pointed at the driver's heart). The 1973 ban on the additive DES in cattle feed, because massive doses seemed linked to cancer in test animals, helped price meat out



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of the reach of the undernourished poor. The FDA's proposed iron supplements in bread might pose a substantial risk for those with Parkinson's disease or hemochromatosis in exchange for a small benefit for certain anemic people who eat bread. Perhaps the benefits outweigh the costs in such cases, but this is a matter for more serious study than is found in the moralistic and sensational lawyers' briefs turned out by Nader's franchises. If the activities of consumerists, governments, and labor unions are likewise judged by the criteria of cost-effectiveness and the absence of consumer deception, corporations and their products are likely to appear as the least of the consumer's problems.

THE MORE government intervenes in the economy, the more special interests will be rewarded for their ability to please politicians rather than consumers. The seemingly obvious solution would be to minimize government intervention, thereby reducing the opportunities for bribery and corruption, as well as saving the resources now wasted in attempting to influence the political distribution of existing wealth. Instead of this, Nader has helped create more and more federal regulatory agencies with vast unchecked powers, such as the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and the proposed Consumer Protection Agency.

The Nader reports on existing regulatory agencies are properly critical. The ICC is called a "captive" of the transportation industries; the FTC is said to be noted for "alcoholism, spectacular lassitude, . . . and incompetence"; FDA regulations are considered "a catalogue of favors"; and many government agencies are rightly labeled "The Monopoly Makers" in a Nader study by that title. But no amount of evidence seems to convince the Naderites that government regulation is *inherently* dangerous for consumers, rather than perfectible simply by replacing the bad guys with the good guys (lawyers).

By Nader's own account, the Nader-inspired alliances between government and business have been no better than should have been expected. Meat inspection has been characterized by "serious failures" in enforcement, according to Nader; the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration's failure to set safety standards has been "outrageous"; the Federal Environmental Protection Agency's water pollution control program has been a "miserable failure." Coal mine deaths and injuries have climbed since the coal mine safety law was enacted in 1969, while smaller coal mines have been forced out of business. The 1968 act establishing federal regulation of gas pipeline safety has preempted the higher standards and superior enforcement of state agencies, and resulted in an increase in deaths from gas pipeline explosions.

The New Deal formula—prepare a lengthy study and set up a new agency—does not become more promising because it bears the Nader stamp. Nor can we safely entrust our destinies to Nader's own regulators—a projected aristocracy of 10,000 lawyers gifted with a far better understanding of "the public interest" than the public's own elected representatives.

Free markets aren't perfect, but neither is government regulation. Comparing the reality of imperfect people dealing voluntarily in imperfect markets with the hypothetical ideal of perfect regulation, as the Naderites are inclined to do, casts the latter in all too favorable a light. The "social costs" of government restrictions are apt to be far less predictable and less escapable than those arising from individual decisions. Government officials bear little cost if they reduce the ability of the economy to cater to individual wishes, but such officials have strong incentives to placate influential critics—like Ralph Nader.

Degrees of safety and durability are dimensions of competition between firms. Some of the observed variety in these attributes among products reflects variety in people's wants—including their willingness to accept certain risks in exchange for some benefit, such as the thrill of skiing or a lower price. This raises the thorny question of why consumers should be forced to buy and use safety devices in those cases where no one else is affected by the individual's choosing to take some risk in order to obtain some benefit. The issue is complicated by the fact that the more taxpayers assume the costs of individual irresponsibility (e.g., by subsidizing child support or medical care), the more political pressure will be generated to restrict the individual's range of free choice.

The best argument for safety regulation is that consumers may be compelled to take risks that they would not take voluntarily if they were perfectly informed. Yet this is mainly an argument for strict labeling standards, or for subsidized information, rather than for an outright ban. Moreover, it is not at all obvious that government is a more reliable arbiter of the amount or type of product information than of, say, political information. It is quite costly to create and absorb information, so the optimal amount of information is not infinite. Requiring excess information or safety imposes costs on well informed and cautious consumers and provides a hidden subsidy from them to the reckless or negligent. Everyone is compelled to purchase extra safety features or product information, which may be redundant in most cases.

Degrees of safety and durability are dimensions of competition between firms

Beverly Moore, of Nader's Corporate Accountability Research Group, suggests that "if the auto industry were obliged to pay out $46 billion annually in accident costs [over 12 times the industry's 1973 profits] . . . the optimum tradeoff between accident and prevention costs would be realized." Yet this would simply absolve individuals and traffic authorities from responsibility for accidents by shifting the cost to those—if any—who were foolish enough to pay $46 billion more for new cars.

IF ALL damage costs were paid by sellers, consumers would shift their demands to more hazardous products—driving high quality products out of the market. Why pay extra for a lawnmower that's less apt to throw rocks at your neighbor when unlimited insurance against misuse is included in the price of all mowers? Sellers of the remaining risky products would be in the comfortable position of offering a legally enforced tie-in sale, such that buyers

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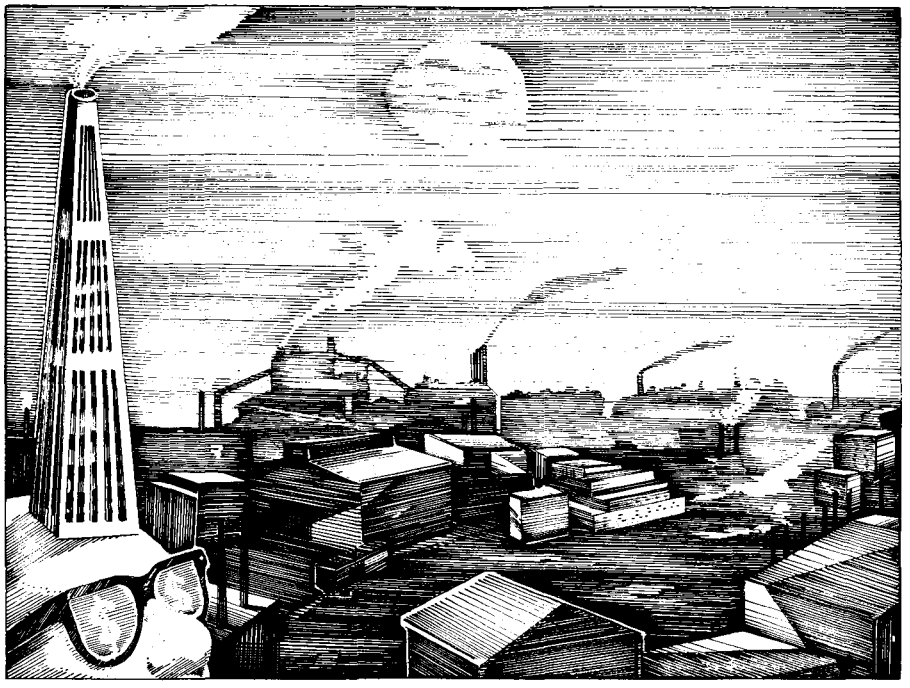
The more government intervenes in the economy, the more special interests will be rewarded for their ability to please politicians rather than consumers

would be compelled to purchase what amounts to insurance for the accident-prone along with the product.

Neither private sources of product information nor legal sanctions against criminal fraud or civil liability are perfect, though they probably have more impact per dollar than comparable regulatory efforts. But before accepting Nader's proposals to augment such arrangements by tapping the Treasury, or to add more costs of safety, ecology, and information to the costs of production, we need to consider more carefully the question of who will really pay the bill.

EITHER the quality of Nader's output is getting increasingly shoddy, or fewer people are accepting his remarks on faith. An unsupported charge that GM was tipped off in advance about the 1971 wage-price freeze seemed far-fetched even to the most paranoid corporation haters. A report on California land use implied universal corruption on the basis of very flimsy evidence. New York's Citibank was charged with diverting funds from small consumers to large corporations while the Nader report simultaneously complained that unwanted credit was foisted off on consumers. A Transportation Department study found Corvairs no more dangerous than other small cars of the same vintage (Jack Anderson complained that they should have tested them with bald tires on wet roads). A *New Republic* review of a Nader group's study on water pollution described it as "intolerably self-righteous . . . drawing indiscriminately upon scientific studies, newspaper reports, and anonymous anecdotal evidence; incomplete and puzzlingly selective . . . oddly muddled and inconsistent. . . . Its economic posture is shabbily inadequate." Nader's boiler plate report on "Who Runs Congress?" complete with a cost overrun of hundreds of thousands of dollars, was universally panned as amateurish and full of obvious bias and factual errors.

Several Nader reports have been challenged by their own sources. When Nader cited a study by two dentists to prove that fluoride stains teeth, the same dentists rebutted the "out of context reference" and "simplistic attack." Richard Posner's *New Republic* review of "The Closed Enterprise System" related a comparable experience: "They refer extensively to my own articles on antitrust where the articles support their conclusions," said Posner, "but one would never know from reading their study that those articles, and much other theoretical and empirical work, refute many of the study group's fondest notions." A major source for Nader's attack on Volkswagen was research by the Cornell Aeronautical Laboratory, carefully distorted to appear to support the study group's foregone conclusion that the VW was unsafe and ought to be recalled. A Cornell spokesman said, "Ralph Nader's position with respect to Cornell Aeronautical Laboratory data on Volkswagens in injury accidents is quite inconsistent." That's quite an understatement, since the Cornell report concluded: "The distribution of accident severity is essentially the same for Volkswagen as for most other cars."



NADER'S access to media and impact on public policy have been entirely out of line with the quality and reliability of his work. This is not an ideological judgment. One could not say the same, for example, about the brilliantly misconceived output of the Brookings Institution. And David Sanford, managing editor of *The New Republic*, had much harsher things to say about Nader in his book, *Who Put the "Con" in Consumer?* The problem is not that Nader is insincere or malicious, but that he is often wrong. Nader's vision of what is good for "consumers" or "the public" may be radically different from yours or mine, yet there has been some imperfection in the market or voting mechanism that has allowed him to posture as our spokesman and attempt to impose his ascetic tastes upon us by the force of law.

In *The Phaeton Ride*, historian Forrest McDonald neatly summarizes the subtle threat of the Naderite crusades: "As a society we have a powerful urge for self-destruction," writes McDonald, "and the most common form that urge takes is to spread our bountifulness beyond its limits. . . . The consumerists and the environmentalists cater to this weakness in our national character. If we follow their lead, we will only hasten the loss of what is left." □

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FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Disinviting Ron Ziegler

JOHN GUASPARI

It was, ultimate-media-eventwise, a delightfully incestuous show. Photographers snapped the communications students, who questioned the reporters, who questioned the students, who mugged for the remote TV unit, which broadcast the newsperson, who interviewed the Dean, who didn't want the former Press Secretary to communicate with the communications students.

"Should Ron Ziegler appear?" the three-column, 36-point advertisement in a Boston University student tabloid had asked, and students from the School of Public Communications (SPC) convened for an "open forum on the issue."

It had become an "issue" when SPC Dean John Wicklein sent a telegram to Peter Eliken, Student Government Assembly (SGA) president. "I think," Wicklein's telegram read, "it is morally wrong . . . to pay . . . any amount of money to Ron Ziegler to speak at Boston University. . . . I think it would be a travesty to reward him in any way for his despicable contempt for the Constitution and democratic process." He also thought that he ought to restate his position at the meeting for the students. And the cameras. The Dean is a very thoughtful man.

The meeting began with Peter's assurances that "nobody's trying to be a fascist or anything," but it's just that, in an earlier time, he had been troubled when Jane Fonda, Ellsberg, the Berrigans, and assorted other "undespicables" had met with difficulty over campus speaking appearances. So he had promised himself that "if there was ever a kind of person I hated, I'd want him to speak at my university."

A procedural point was raised. Would the discussion be limited to students, or should the faculty be allowed to speak?

"Faculty!" cried the students, who had that week received a memo advising them that the faculty had voted "unanimously to support the position of Dean John Wicklein against paying money to Ron Ziegler to speak on campus."

Student autonomy having been handed its hat, the discussion was opened to the floor. And quite a discussion it was, with comments ranging from the fatuously self-indulgent ("Nobody in America had any say-so in the pardon of Richard Nixon. I don't think we should pardon Ron Ziegler"), through the ominously solicitous ("There is an element in school which will disrupt the speech—so it won't be educational"), to the gloriously self-contradictory ("Any lecture Ron Ziegler gave would be pure bullshit. If we could say, 'Ron Ziegler, we don't wanna hear your lies, your bullshit, we want you to answer our questions. How could you get up for six years on TV and make me wanna puke?' If we all came with professionally worded questions, that would be different").

One student was concerned that he had paid $20,000 for four years of learning the "proper procedure" and that if Ziegler appeared he'd "undo it all," which gives Ziegler's persuasive powers all the best of it, or BU's all the worst of it, or both.

There was even a nice resolution proposed to start a national movement never to pay more than $1,000 for a speaker. Nobody. Noplace. (A vote will be taken next week. The world sits in wait.)

It was argued that BU policy specifically proscribes paying lecturers more than $1,000. The policy, however, turns out to be somewhat less than firm since, according to Peter, Ralph Nader and Bella Abzug have both spoken at BU for more than $1.000 in the last year.

Peter pointed out that Ziegler's fee was not at issue anyway, that according to the terms of his contract with the speakers' bureau, Ziegler is forbidden to appear for less than $2,500 (plus $200 expenses).

A cunning student saw a way around the problem. "If there's a lot of heckling and tomato throwing and Ron Ziegler walks off after five minutes," he asked, "does he still get paid?" Whereupon ensued a three-minute discussion among SGA members in which it was determined that—honest—nobody was sure, but they would "check with a lawyer."

But what, several asked, can we hope to learn from Ron Ziegler? "He can't be a worthwhile speaker 'cause he won't be honest and up front."

To be sure, one speaker expressed concern about the tendency to listen exclusively to "people we like and believe in." Another offered simply that he'd "like to know what makes Ziegler tick." But such voices were few, and far less strident, and *always* preceded by an "I hate Ziegler but . . ." disclaimer.

Precisely at five o'clock—obligingly in time for the TV crews to "get a wrap" on the six o'clock newsfilm—the discussion was cut off. Peter requested a show of hands from the crowd as the cameras rolled. Rough estimate: 300-20 against Ziegler's appearance. Cheers, whistles, applause, and "suffocating" tension in anticipation of the binding SGA roll call vote.

To hell with suspense. Ron Ziegler was disinvited by a vote of 14 to 5. The people have spoken. The system has worked. And once again Kenmore Square has been made safe for democracy. □

Mr. Guaspari, a Notre Dame graduate, is/was? studying journalism at BU's School of Public Communications.

The News Ho-Hum Department

Nixon took it on the chin,
Watergate has had its day,
Ford, at least for now, is in,
Naughty, naughty CIA.
Arabs and Israelis war;
Likewise Irish, Greeks, and Turks.
Stocks are down and prices soar.
No one reads and nothing works.
Filth pollutes the cities' air.
Kids buy magazines like *Screw*.
Patty Hearst is who knows where.
Really? So what else is new?

—Corinna Marsh

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Children Are Educable

AFTER EDITING the *Bulletin* of the Council for Basic Education for nearly two decades, and being executive director of that Council in recent years, Mr. Mortimer Smith recently retired. In his final report as executive director, Mr. Smith described what the vast majority of American parents desire from the American educational apparatus:

"They want children to read, not only because reading is the basis of most learning and is essential for vocation, but because it is a source of pleasure and consolation for a lifetime. They want them to learn to use the native language, in speech and writing, with at least a modicum of ease and accuracy, and they believe that many students can benefit from learning a foreign language or languages. They hope that all of them will achieve some facility in the fundamental arithmetical operations, and that many will achieve a facility in the topics of the higher mathematics and an understanding of mathematical thinking. They hope that they will learn the facts of their country's history, have a chronological picture of that history, be acquainted with the political and philosophical principles underlying the American system of government, and eventually gain similar knowledge of other countries. They want them to have some notion of geographical location and a general knowledge of the science of the earth and its life and characteristics."

For such reasonable objectives, the Council and Mr. Smith have been striving manfully. Mr. Smith leaves the Council and its *Bulletin* in competent hands. If you want to belong to the CBE, you can join for $5 a year. Write to the Council for Basic Education, 725 15th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

Mortimer Smith has been a gadfly to educationists; and while often he may have found his labors more derided than appreciated by the public school establishment, he and the CBE have laid up treasure in Heaven. Actually, they have waked many people to the decayed condition of basic education, and have provided many valuable practical suggestions for reform. Say not the struggle naught availeth. During the past two years, the capital of Virginia, for instance, has made mighty strides in the recovery of basic education—reading in particular. Richmond's public schools had been struck a dread blow by the ruinous doctrine of compulsory congregation—that is, "busing" on a massive scale by the direction of federal courts, beginning in 1970. Ten thousand white pupils fled out of the system in consequence; three out of every four Richmond students are black nowadays. Before Dr. Thomas C. Little, city superintendent, commenced his reading reform in 1973, Richmond had the lowest reading scores of any district in Virginia.

BEGINNING with the fall term of 1973, Richmond's public schools embarked upon a large scale diagnostic and remedial reading project. Some 215 teachers, only 7 per cent of whom had taught reading before, were assigned to instruct pupils in the phonetic method of learning to read. The fallacy of "look-say," the word-recognition notion, was discarded altogether. Students in senior high school who had been kept virtually illiterate by "look-say" were included in this strenuous endeavor; to practically everybody's surprise, those big boys and girls generally responded intelligently. By the end of August 1974, Superintendent Little was able to report a heartening measure of success.

"In some cases at both the middle and high school level," Dr. Little stated, "classes of children gained three and four times their average gain during their preceding school career." The most substantial progress was made in the middle schools. In-service training for Richmond's teachers of reading made possible this startling achievement; and allocation of a good deal more time to reading instruction; and the hearty cooperation of teachers and pupils; and the use of superior materials—these last, specifically, the materials of the Open Court reading program.

The Open Court Publishing Company (Box 599, La Salle, Illinois 61301) began its phonetic reading program on a modest scale, sponsored by a family foundation, but during the past decade, the Open Court basic readers have taken a large proportion of the big market in readers. Open Court workshops and Open Court's traveling consultants have made headway in every state except Alaska, and in Germany, Japan, Panama, the Philippines, Guam, and Canada. The Open Court program is the creation of Mr. and Mrs. M. Blouke Carus, though the Publishing Company and the Carus Chemical Company have been in existence for several generations.

In addition to ingenious methods of communicating its phonics methods, Open Court puts genuine *literature* into its readers: something for mind and conscience. Dick, Jane, Spot, and all that dreary suburbanite crew of little nincompoops have been banished. If stories and poems and little essays rouse a child's imagination, half the difficulty of learning to read has vanished. So it has gone with the Open Court program in Richmond.

The CBE people and the Open Court people are on cordial terms. Open Court is so busy with the art of reading, however, that it does not venture into other basic disciplines. For the social studies, Open Court recommends the social science program of the Educational Research Council of America, distributed by the firm of Allyn and Bacon.

A byproduct of the Open Court program is *Cricket*, a children's magazine, edited by Mrs. Carus and Mr. Clifton Fadiman; a good many schools use *Cricket* in conjunction with the reading program, and after only a year of existence *Cricket* (charmingly illustrated, with stories and poems by good writers) is pushing toward the top of the children's-magazine field in general subscriptions.

Little Americans are not ineducable: the Council for Basic Education knows that, and the Open Court Publishing Company knows that, and the Richmond improvement is only one of many proofs. □

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Arts & Manners

MAGAZINES

M. J. SOBRAN JR.

Up from L-b-r-lism

The New Republic has just observed its sixtieth anniversary, and the occasion has been marked—or marred—by frequent and unusual appearances in the news. First, last March, a young Harvard lecturer, Martin Peretz, bought it. By January things had become so strained between him and editor-in-chief Gilbert Harrison that Harrison resigned, despite a previous agreement that he would remain on the job until 1977. In the meantime, two of *TNR*'s most distinguished contributors died: Alexander Bickel, who at 49 had long since distinguished himself as a trenchant authority on constitutional law; and Walter Lippmann. Lippmann of course had left the magazine a half-century ago, but its star and his had risen together in its first decade around World War I, and the obituaries naturally dwelt on the association.

Published weekly as "a journal of politics and the arts," *The New Republic* resembles NATIONAL REVIEW in format, though it is more austere, with double columns of prose usually unbroken by illustrations or typographical eyecatchers; as if scornful of any appeal but to the mind. First there is Richard Strout's acid, cussed "TRB from Washington," which occupies the inside front cover, right across from the lead editorial; then the editorials; perhaps a Walter Pincus piece following up on the Watergate residue; John Osborne's "White House Watch," formerly "The Nixon Watch," probably the most thorough regular coverage of the Presidency to be found anywhere; and short signed articles on politics. Stanley Kauffmann reviews films and theater, and the rest —nearly a third of *TNR*'s usual 34 pages—is given to book reviews.

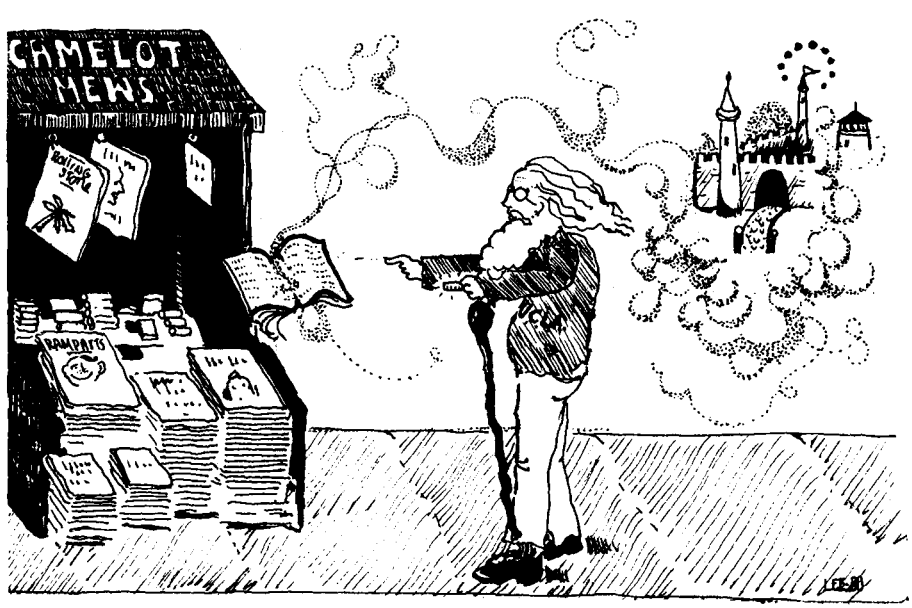
Roughly speaking, *The New Republic* is the liberal counterpart of *NR*. But the word "liberal" occurs in its pages far less often than "conservative" in ours. The editors, I gather, don't like to think of themselves as "liberals"; the word would seem almost a faux pas to them, like a vulgar verb to Fanny Hill. When a term of praise is in order, they are more likely to use "progressive"; liberal measures are "badly needed social programs." Peretz has said that *TNR* will remain "an open magazine in the liberal spirit," but to say simply "*TNR* will remain a liberal magazine" would be somehow to suggest that *TNR* is liberal, period—i.e., doctrinaire. An anniversary editorial cited Lippmann's description of it as "the organ of no party, of no faction, of no sect, of no cause [except] the tradition of civility in our Western society." This, as Bottom the Weaver says, was lofty; but, to my mind, a little coy.

TNR's tone *is* civil; and thoughtful; and fair-minded. There are exceptions: Strout is an exception every week. But in general *TNR* does not strike you as doctrinaire, even when it is wrong. Nevertheless, I find it unsatisfying. You would think, to hear it talk, that it was too lofty to stand for anything but loftiness itself. Which isn't the case.

The anniversary editorial then quoted the late Senator Paul Douglas, who once recalled how he as a college student had torn open the first issue of *TNR* back in 1914, "my hands trembling with eagerness to see what was inside." "The test of *The New Republic* in forthcoming decades," the editorial concluded, "will be whether it can generate that kind of excitement, that feeling on the part of readers that the editors are making some sense out of the jumble of events."

Those words, I surmise, represent a kind of prospectus—I wonder whether Peretz himself didn't write them. For whatever it may be worth, I note that it spoke of generating, rather than continuing to generate, excitement. *TNR* has been, in my memory, too staid, too professorial, to set a student's hands atremble. Peretz has fervently supported McGovern and Israel, and he may want to restore to his magazine some of the feistiness that made it famous in the days when Lippmann and Herbert Croly had to defend it against the charge of militarism. In a way I hope so.

To READ a recent *TNR* editorial is to appreciate the distinction between the estimable and the readable. Its virtues—especially since Bickel's death —do not include incisiveness. There is such a thing as having scruples without having principles, and this seems to me to sum up what is wrong with *TNR*'s commentary. It goes on too long, char-



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acteristically resolving a careful review of the situation into a hedged prediction, or a flimsy velleity: "Ducking responsibility and servicing the personal needs of constituents has been a way of life on Capitol Hill. . . . It is the attitude that led to the imperial presidency, and it's time to change it. Given leadership, the progressive forces in the 94th Congress can do it." Or: "The agenda for peace then calls for the end to violence, along with the participation of the Palestinians in future negotiations." Pure, platitudinous editorialese; I take these at random, and they are typical of *TNR*'s prose, which neither comes to the point nor sticks to the ribs. I wonder whether even those who praise it ever read it twice.

After a while, even Strout comes as a refreshing contrast, like a frenzied Laertes after a languid Hamlet. He is at least direct, and you must credit him with having the courage of his conniptions. One column is entitled "Hunger"; another, "Crime Fighting" (his prescriptions include gun control, a reduction of TV violence, and $20 billion or so for badly needed social programs); still another, last August, "A Miserable President." He finds that the poorest fifth of American families get 5.5 per cent, the top fifth 41.6 per cent, of what he terms "the national income": and such a nakedly scandalous statistic requires, for him, no comment, no analysis, admits of no real difference of interpretation. There is no sign that he has heard of Irving Kristol, Edward Banfield, Milton Friedman; and a page or two of van den Haag would surely be the death of him. But he has heard of Ayn Rand, and when he discovered that Alan Greenspan used to write for her *Objectivist*, he cited, with deep horror, such atavisms as Greenspan's opposition to the graduated income tax. The only argument he offered was that the Sixteenth Amendment had "settle[d] the matter." Clearly he felt—and expected the reader to feel—that no argument was necessary. He merely quoted Justice Field's 1894 warning that the graduated tax represented the beginning of a great historic assault on capital, and cracked, "Mr. Greenspan, meet Justice Field."

Reading such things, I am reminded of William Buckley's remark that "though liberals do a great deal of talking about hearing other points of view, it sometimes shocks them to learn that there *are* other points of view." And the shock lies not only in the perversity of those who hold "other points of view" (though the Strouts let on that this is all it is), but also in the unsettling light their very disagreement casts on those liberal notions which in the absence of opposition may seem self-evident, like Euclid's axioms. Even to formulate liberal assumptions, Jeffrey Hart observes, "is to confer upon them the status of the debatable; it is to open the question of the truth of those assumptions, and to require that evidence be mustered in their support. This is an especially painful situation when such assumptions are connected with 'all respectable politics.'" A related comment has come from a liberal, Max Ascoli: "American Liberalism has been singularly leery of defining its own theoretical principles, the set of ideas by which its operations are guided. This has greatly contributed to the lack of commonly accepted standards even in the most articulate liberals." Indeed the most articulate liberals don't even admit they are liberals. Why call into question your point of view by identifying it *as* a point of view? Much easier to pretend that it is just common sense; after all, we don't have a special word for those who hold that two and two make four. We may have special words for those who *deny* it.

One of the few attempts to grapple with principles I have seen in *The New Republic* was Kenneth Arrow's recent essay, "Taxation and Democratic Values: A Case for Redistributing Income." Arrow—a Nobel Prize winner in economics—argues that equality is necessary to democracy, and that redistribution is necessary to equality; he does not say what democracy is necessary to. When we think of property rights as "basic and axiomatic," he says, we court "intellectual confusion": "One could equally well think of the world's resources as a common pool from which allocations to private and public uses have to be made." Indeed one could—and is there any doubt that Arrow has never really thought of them otherwise than as a "common pool"? Why else would he seem to use "private" to refer to that portion his (presumably beneficent) distributing agency would suffer individuals to devote to their own peculiar appetites? "Unequal distribution of property and income," he goes on, "is *inherently* an unequal distribution of freedom. Thus a redistribution of income, to the extent that it reduces the freedom of the rich, *equally* increases that of the poor" (my emphasis). Here we enter a realm of speculation so pure that there is almost a presumption in favor of the hypothetical, as against the real. The whole argument has about it something of the jerry-built character of a theory invented ad hoc to sustain a preexisting prejudice.

Despite its many minor excellences, *TNR* is far, now, from being the magazine that could give an intelligent young man the thrill of expectation; and I venture to say that its essential fault is this air of bogus deliberation, which disguises its assumptions as conclusions, reasons laboriously to what it already held, and can hardly conceive "other points of view" except as dull foils to its own. Educated people, says Richard Weaver, ideally should "be so trained that they [can] see the dialectical possibility of the opposites of the beliefs they possess. And that is a very large order for education in any age." So it is; but it is surely a worthy aspiration for "an open magazine in the liberal spirit": a frank discussion of principles, beginning with the admission that there are principles at stake, principles that need stating and defending against plausible and arguable alternatives. If *The New Republic* really wants excitement, I can't think of a better way to get it. Mr. Peretz, meet Mr. Weaver. □

DELECTATIONS

NIKA HAZELTON

Wines of Yugoslavia

Last fall, I went to Yugoslavia with some other journalists, to look at the wineries and taste the wines. It was my first trip, and I came back enchanted with the beauty of the country, and impressed with the wines and with the wineries' modern equipment. We were most hospitably received, and politics did not enter into the trip; you'd be surprised how far shoptalk, folklore, art, history, and culture in general can carry you.

I stayed on for some days by myself to see some things I'd been wanting to see all my life: the Orthodox monas-

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teries of southern Serbia and those towns with the fabled names—Mostar, Prizren, Pristina, Cetinje, and Sarajevo —about which I had read in the books of my childhood. I may add that I knew nothing of Yugoslavia beyond nebulous childhood visions, alas, alas. Had I prepared myself somewhat for the lovely sights, I would have seen much more in what I saw; a guidebook in hand simply does not do it.

Wine is made all through Yugoslavia since grapes grow well in its various climates and soils, from the Alpine in the north, where the country borders on Austria and Italy, to the Mediterranean on the coast and in the south, near Albania and Greece. Thus the range of grapes grown is very wide and includes the classic French, German, and Italian varieties, as well as indigenous Yugoslav grapes, which produce some of the best wine we drank.

We visited three major wineries, among the many hundreds in Yugoslavia: Slovin in the north, in Ljubljana; Navip in Belgrade; and Hepok in Mostar, in Herzegovina. Rather, we visited some of the actual plants, since all these wineries are large conglomerates producing wines, spirits (like Slivovic and brandies), sparkling wines, soft drinks, and even cheeses, flowers, and canned meats. Slovin bottles Coca-Cola and Schweppes, for example, and makes some marvelous white wines of the Austrian-German type from Riesling, Traminer, Sylvaner, and Sauvignon grapes. This winery, not far from Austria, is located in a lovely region of terraced vineyards; the villages nestle among the trees and the distant mountains are seen against a soft blue sky.

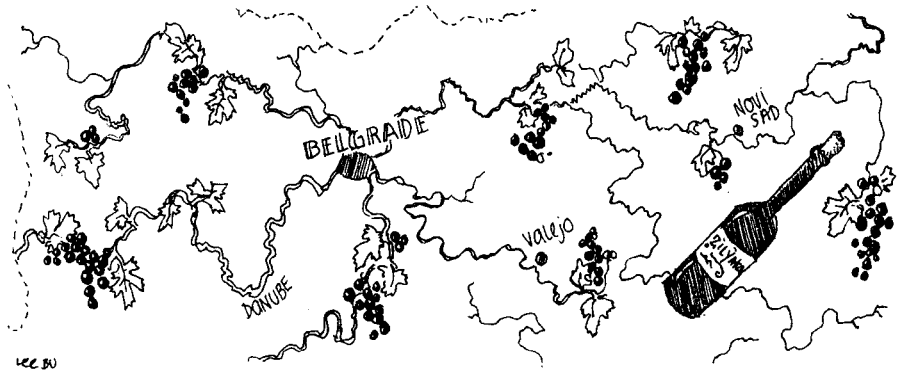
Navip took us to see one of its wineries near Novi Sad (almost all the wineries produce throughout Yugoslavia) along the romantic banks of the Danube, where the willows grow thick. This is the Vojvodina, with its mixture of cultures—Slovakian, Austrian, Serbian, even Hungarian, since Hungary and the *puszta* are not far. All this once was on the frontier with the Turks. An unbelievably enormous fortress called Petrovaradin, which Prince Eugene of Savoy captured from the Turks in 1716, reminds you of the constant frontier wars, as you sit in the ravishing manor house in the middle of the fortress eating a very good lunch indeed. (In Yugoslavia it became clear to me why fortresses, like the ones in Novi Sad and in Belgrade, are so often constructed at the bend of rivers: there you can control who comes and goes below you, on river and land.)

Navip is big on Serbian wines; I remember especially a fresh young red made from the Prokupac grape, drunk cool like a new Beaujolais. The third winery we saw, Hepok down in the south, makes two outstanding wines: a big dry white Zilavka and a red Blatina. Many of these wines are imported into this country by Munson Shaw under the Adriatica and other labels. They are inexpensive, under $3. Of course, some of the imports are much better than others. Since they are inexpensive, I suggest trying and finding out for oneself.

It is well worthwhile. Generally speaking, the wines made from familiar grapes like Rieslings, Sylvaners, and Traminers are bigger and fuller than their German counterparts, because of a climate more generous than that of the Moselle and Rhine. Not to be forgotten are the excellent reds, such as the Cabernets of the Dalmatian coast. Like all Yugoslav wines, these are very popular throughout Europe, especially Germany and England. What this wine tour did was to whet in all of us the desire to taste more Yugoslav wines; their variety astonished us.

What astonished us as much was the up-to-date winery equipment we saw, the latest machines from France, Germany, and Italy. Naturally, there are still any number of small wineries that produce for the local and internal markets, but the trend is toward large, commercial establishments, which, as we saw, were equipped to compete with the best of Europe and California. We drank some wines that were as good as the best Rhines and Moselles, although generally speaking, the country is aiming for well made, middle- and low-priced wines rather than the small, highly select chateau output. Interestingly, the finest wine we drank at the Slovin went to Japan, and it was very fine indeed. As far as we could see, though basically state-owned, the wineries operate as competitively as any capitalist wineries, out to make a good product and good profits. The personnel that we met, from the presidents to the vineyard managers, spoke of their work in the same way as wine men anywhere. But then, the Yugoslav economic system is a unique one, with its mixture of capitalist and socialist elements.

One more word about the wines. To make their wines competitive in the European Common Market, the Yugoslavs have introduced some new laws which divide the wines into various classifications, from table wines with and without origin to high quality wines whose label gives the variety of the grape, its origin, the vintage, the bottling place, and the "Highest Quality" specification, as well as, in some cases, the *Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée* specification. (The specification *Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée* is given only to wines made from typically Yugoslav grapes.)



This is what to look for when in Yugoslavia. Unfortunately, the dozen or so Yugoslav wines imported to America will tell you the grape variety and origin of the wine, but not its quality. You have to experiment on your own, since, as I say, there are considerable differences between the wines. When in Yugoslavia, you may also drink with joy the carafe wines which are served in all restaurants and which most restaurants will want to serve you, just as in France or Italy. But no traveler should deny himself the pleasure of the bottled wines that you find in the good restaurants. They cost between $3 and $12 a bottle, generally speaking, and are well worth it.

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In my next Delectation, I will tell of what it is like to travel through southern Yugoslavia in search of Orthodox monasteries and towns with Turkish pasts. The ladies there still wear balloon pants (known also as peekaboo pants, though there is no peeking possible). The pants, in lovely flower patterns, are now made from opaque synthetics, just like the modern sweaters which top them. Why this juxtaposition? Next time. □

ART

RUTH BERENSON

Some German Memories

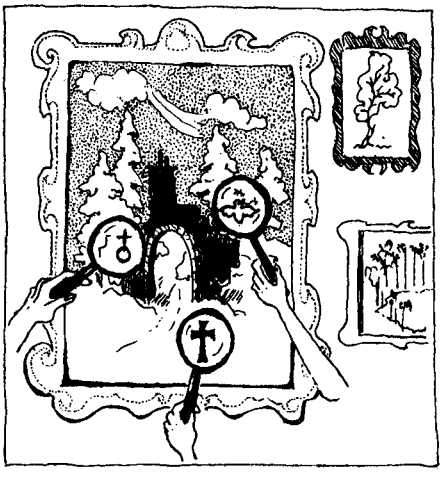
The most talked-of art attraction in Germany—possibly in all Europe—this winter was the exhibition of Caspar David Friedrich at the Hamburg Kunsthalle, which, as a joint undertaking of the two Germanies, is now on view in Dresden. Held in celebration of the 200th anniversary of Friedrich's birth, it drew 200,000 spectators in six weeks, a German record surpassed only by the great 1971 Dürer show in Nuremberg.

Friedrich's landscapes, haunted, melancholy, filled with mysterious overtones like the Grimm fairy tales, are hardly known outside Germany (except by those lucky enough to have seen them at London's Tate Gallery in 1972). Just why they should suddenly attract mass audiences is puzzling. His subject matter—winter landscapes, misty mountains, graveyards with Gothic ruins, lonely beaches, harbor scenes with sailing ships against the setting sun—is typically romantic. But nature, for Friedrich, is full of religious symbols, so that even the most casual observer senses hidden meanings and implications in his work.

By a kind of alchemy, he makes his personal way of seeing so persuasive that once one has looked at, for instance, the lacy configurations of his bare oak tree patterned against a darkening sky, it is almost impossible to see a similar subject in nature except through his eyes. His vast distances, his use of silhouette, his clear luminous colors (sometimes applied with an arbitrariness that looks forward to twentieth century expressionism) are like those of no other painter. His figures are lonely, dwarfed and overwhelmed by their surroundings, helpless in the face of infinity. Friedrich's meanings have challenged generations of German critics, for his nature symbols were largely his own invention and he seldom explained his intent. Even such apparently straightforward pictures as those honoring the German freedom fighters who gave their lives in the wars against Napoleon are full of ambiguities. Indeed, his pictures, like Rorschach blots, seem to mean different things to different people, although, as many Hamburg visitors put it, they all seem very German, evoking traditions and ideals lost in the years of the Third Reich—and currently subject to ridicule and attack by the radical Left.

The shrill, insistent self-righteousness of that Left appeared at its most strident in "Art of the Third Reich," a traveling show which, for political reasons, attracted a lot of public attention and controversy. Composed of Nazi paintings and sculptures that had been hidden in storage, unavailable except to scholars, ever since 1939, the selection was small: a few oversized muscular male nudes and Hitler busts (mostly shown in photographs since the sculptured originals have disappeared); paintings of sentimental Nordic mothers with fresh faced children; nude Venuses and Germanias with hair and makeup fresh from the beauty parlor; clean shaven, blue eyed workers or soldiers marching in serried ranks; a smattering of antisemitic posters and architectural mockups.

The exhibitors, a group of young professors from Frankfurt University, were not content to let the bombast and sheer ineptitude of Nazi art speak for itself. Instead, they presented what they called "a political statement" and festooned the walls of the Frankfurt Kunstverein with photos of starving slave laborers, concentration camp victims, anticapitalist slogans, and Marxist quotations from the gurus of the famous Frankfurt School, so that the Nazis' "art" was nearly lost in the process. Judging from remarks scribbled on a piece of paper inviting visitors' comments, their efforts were rather counterproductive. Many felt that the anti-Nazi, pro-Marxist case was overstated, and were more incensed at the exhibitors' propaganda than Hitler's. Others, noting the marked similarity between Nazi art and that being turned out in the Soviet Union and East Germany today, were appalled at the explanation offered, namely, that art as propaganda is bad when it serves a bad cause (Fascism), but good when it serves the people (Communism). It seems that the more thoughtful Germans of the 1970s, interested in rediscovering their traditions and exploring their national past, have developed a healthy skepticism of easy explanations—and this can only augur well for the future.



ANOTHER survey of Germany's not so remote past was provided by the Berlin Academy of Art, in a look at the *Gründerjahre* from 1875 to 1890, the years of boom that followed the establishment of the German Empire. The show contained as much history as art and gave a lively view of the contradictions of a period which until recently most Germans had dismissed as pompous, self-satisfied, and stuffy, but which now appears to have been full of ferment and controversy—just like its British equivalent, the late Victorian era.

In Munich, the star attraction was "Naive Art" at the Haus der Kunst. Billed as the largest and most comprehensive display of contemporary primitive art ever assembled, it contained few surprises; as always, the Haitians walked off with the laurels and the Yugoslavs ran a close second. One notable novelty was an Israeli artist, Gabriel Chohen, who painted *Henry Kissinger at the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem in 1974* like a happening in the Arabian Nights, an interpretation that may well turn out to have been prophetic. □

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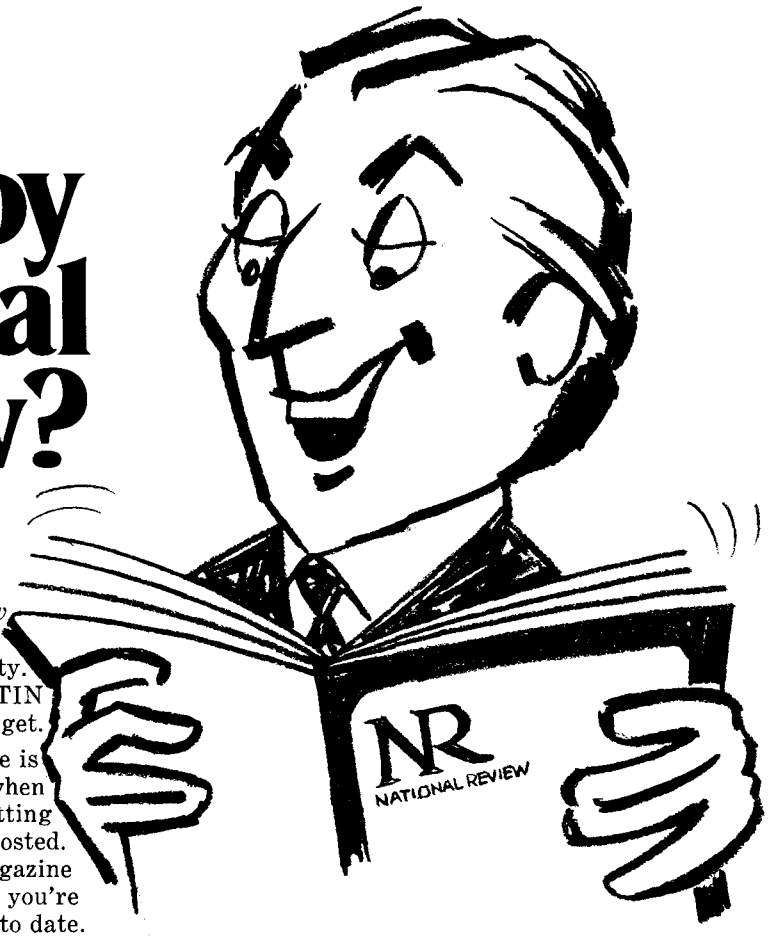

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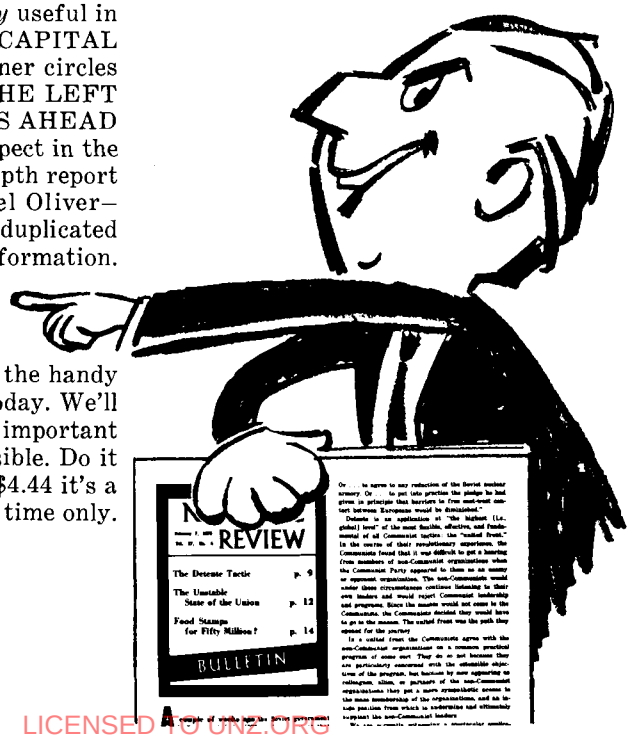

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BOOKS

Officially Sanctioned Treachery

The Last Secret
By Nicholas Bethell
Basic Books, 211 pp., $8.95

RENE KUHN BRYANT

Within the span of a mere 200 pages, Nicholas Bethell in *The Last Secret* has achieved with brilliant precision what many historians spend volumes attempting. Using hitherto secret British and American government archives, the testimony of eyewitnesses, and a number of other sources, he has recreated convincingly the complicated context in which one of the most morally appalling decisions of World War II was made. This was the agreement Stalin extracted at Yalta from Churchill and Roosevelt, that all Russians either captured by the Western Allies or found within territory under their control following the war's end were to be regarded without question as Soviet citizens and turned over to Soviet authorities for repatriation. That such an agreement was egregiously wrong, both in itself and in principle, might now, with the aid of thirty years' hindsight, seem to be an easy judgment to have made. Even at the time it appeared wrong to some of those charged with executing the details. It is Bethell's triumph, however, that he is able to demonstrate beyond argument the agonizingly painful patterns of pressure and response that made objections irrelevant and the outcome inevitable.

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has related in *The Gulag Archipelago* the desperately moving account of the fate of many of the two million Russians who fell victim to the terms of the Yalta agreement. *The Last Secret* presents the clear historical record of the betrayal of hope and expectation which led inexorably from the conference table at Yalta to the prison camps of Siberia. But while Solzhenitsyn writes with the passions and perceptions of a novelist, Bethell applies the techniques and perspective of the scrupulous historian. His results are no less moving for being so solidly factual. Moreover, what Solzhenitsyn failed to allow for, Bethell gives measured weight—the trump cards Stalin held in the threat not to release British and American prisoners of war who fell under Russian control as his armies swept westward toward Berlin and V-E Day. Bethell is just as careful to paint in full detail the political considerations thought to be at stake—namely, the desire on the part of the Western Allies for Stalin's adherence to the other agreements reached at Yalta, most especially, and now almost incredibly, the clause guaranteeing free elections for Poland. Nothing must be done, the statesmen thought, to jeopardize that larger political design, and if that meant accepting Stalin's definition of who was a Soviet citizen, so be it.

But his definition soon proved to include not only Russian military prisoners of war and Russians impressed into the German army or used as forced laborers in German-occupied territories, but tens of thousands of voluntary refugees from the Soviet system who, long before the outbreak of war, had established themselves in new lives in other countries. Most prominent among these were the Cossacks. In the years between the end of the Russian Revolution and the beginning of World War II, the Cossacks had organized themselves into separate societies within their countries of exile. With fierce tenacity they lived —perpetuating their traditions, their codes, their religious heritage—in the hope that one day they could return to a Russia purged of the Bolshevik barbarians. It was in promotion of this hope that the Cossacks had fought as units of the German army and were thus doubly detestable to Stalin. With the end of the war, they regrouped their wives and children into their traditional society. Then, in camps administered by the British and Americans in Austria and Italy, they settled down to await their disposition as prisoners of war, lulled by the false assumption of protection under the Geneva Convention.

THE INFAMY of the Yalta agreements on repatriation of prisoners was never more dramatically exposed than in the terrible scenes of frenzied but futile resistance among the Cossacks, which Bethell describes as he records the cold deceit with which thousands of proud men, women, and children were delivered into the hands of their ancient enemy, the Soviet army.

But the plight of the Cossacks is only one of Bethell's concerns in *The Last Secret*. His careful documentation and fair-minded reconstruction moves systematically across the rubble and confusion that was Europe in 1945-46 until the last camp is cleared and the horrifying total is entirely accounted for. Again and again he illustrates the

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RANDOM NOTES

■ JUST OUT: *I at the Keyhole* is a childhood memoir by Colin Middleton Murry with lots of big British names, since the author is the son of critic John (Stein & Day, $7.95). . . . Doubleday has an interesting new one, *Abraham Lincoln: His Story in His Own Words*, edited by Ralph Geoffrey Newman ($6.95). . . . Elizabeth Evans portrays 11 women of the American Revolution in *Weathering the Storm* (Scribner's, $10). . . . Rail buffs, who never die, should be on time to welcome *Railroads: An American Journey* by Don Ball Jr. (New York Graphic, $19.95). . . . A major study of revolutionaries by British conservative Brian Crozier: *A Theory of Conflict* (Scribner's, $12.50). . . . When Jane Austen died in 1817. Another Lady picked up her work in progress, *Sanditon*, and finished it (Houghton, $8.95). . . . Art interpreter Kenneth Clark chronicles his early years in *Another Part of the Wood* (Harper, $8.50). . . . *Burn the Schools—Save the Children!*—could David Melton be on to something (T. Y. Crowell, $7.95)? The same house unveils *The Encyclopedia of Air Warfare*, and it's lavishly illustrated ($17.95).

■ LOOKING TOWARD APRIL: Robert Payne, the biography factory, got himself a collaborator, Nikita Romano, for *Ivan the Terrible* (T. Y. Crowell, $12.50). But for his venture in deep-think, *The Corrupt Society*, Mr. Payne solos (Praeger, $8.95). . . . Finis Farr poked through 36 crates of his subject's papers for *Fair Enough: The Life of Westbrook Pegler* (Arlington, $8.95). . . . William Frassanito recreates the battle at *Gettysburg* (Scribner's, $10). . . . *The Wallaces of Alabama* is by son George with James Gregory (Follett, $7.95). For the same house, Teddy Getty Gaston tells about her twenty-year marriage to J. Paul Getty in *Paul & Teddy* ($7.95). . . . For fans of ofay soul music, Estell Worrell compiles *The Encyclopedia of Country & Western Music* (Drake, $14.95).

Phenomenology and Art is a collection of essays by José Ortega y Gasset, some never translated before (Norton, $8.95). . . . If Alec Wilder writes letters as well as he writes songs, buy *Letters I Never Mailed* (Little, Brown, $7.95). For the same house, James Brough etches Alice Roosevelt Longworth in *Princess Alice* ($10). . . . Marvin Kitman's *The Coward's Almanac: Or "The Yellow Pages"* deals with the 62 Basic Fears of Man, strolls through the Coward's Hall of Shame, and offers help on how to get through difficult periods like Veterans Day. Printed on yellow paper, of course (Doubleday, $3.95). The same house unveils a life of Charlotte Brontë, *Unquiet Soul* by Margot Peters ($10), and two ventures in orthodoxy: Lord Longford's *Jesus* ($5.95) and Jesuit John Hardon's *Catholic Catechism* ($9.95/$5.95).

anguish of decent American and British officers and men obliged by the military code to obey orders they detested. The ghosts of Nuremberg rise mockingly in one's memory. Although a few highly placed moral stalwarts like Field Marshal Harold Alexander and General of the Army Dwight Eisenhower firmly resisted the political pressures from their capitals, it was not they but individual *Allied* soldiers, increasingly revolted by complicity in so squalid an enterprise, who compelled its abandonment.

IT WAS too late, of course, for most of the policy's victims. And Americans can take only small comfort from the knowledge that our public outcry, such as it was, against such officially sanctioned treachery began sooner than that in Britain and was shriller and more sustained. But Bethell, in a balanced and interesting summary, encourages us to believe that history's lessons are sometimes learned. As an example he points to the successful resistance of the Allied negotiators during the truce talks in the Korean War to the demand by the Communist side for forcible repatriation of all captured Chinese and North Koreans. As elsewhere, he makes a persuasive case.

It is perhaps best to leave to another historian the last word on the enduring value of *The Last Secret*. Hugh Trevor-Roper writes in an introduction worthy of the book: "How simple the problem seemed to many at the time: to the doctrinaires imprisoned by their doctrine, to the officials imprisoned by their offices, to the public lulled by comfortable propaganda! . . . Now that the facts are revealed and the context has changed, we shall no doubt be told that the problem was indeed simple, but should have been solved in an opposite sense. We can only reply that such an answer would be unhistorical. It is better to admit the dilemma, to be chastened by the tragedy, and to respect those who, at the time, saw beyond immediate propaganda and political orthodoxy."

Nicholas Bethell belongs in such company and *The Last Secret* belongs on the shelves of anyone who believes that history has a future as well as a past. □

Hitler and His Generals
By Harold C. Deutsch
Minnesota, 452 pp., $15

THE WEHRMACHT: SMALL WORLD

JACK CHATFIELD

The animosities, even hatreds, between Hitler and his generals are legendary. The generals, to be sure, were impressed by the Austrian corporal's diplomatic triumphs, and some—like Keitel—became worshipful of the Führer. But with military catastrophe came the ultimate disillusionment that ended with the attempt on Hitler's life on July 20, 1944. Harold C. Deutsch now shows us that, if impending defeat drove the conspirators to act, the conspiratorial apparatus—if one may call it that—had begun to form at least two years before the war during the sordid Blomberg-Fritsch affair.

General Werner von Blomberg had been asked to resign as minister of war in January 1938 after it was discovered that a woman of "humble origins" whom he had taken as his wife was a former prostitute and nude model and had a bulging police dossier. Blomberg, ignorant of the girl's past and very much in love, agreed to resign, and he and Hitler had an amicable and fateful conversation about his successor. The logical choice was General Werner von Fritsch, the commander-in-chief of the army and a man universally respected in military circles. But Hitler presented Blomberg with a bombshell. Fritsch

Rene Kuhn Bryant, *a frequent contributor to this section, lives in Lexington, Massachusetts.* . . . **Jack Chatfield** *teaches English at the Watkinson School in Hartford.* . . . **Ronald de Feo** *also reviews for* The Hudson Review *and* Commonweal. . . . **Ernest van den Haag** *has been a friend and critic of Anatole Broyard since the days when* Partisan Review *was still a serious literary magazine.*

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could not be considered because he had been accused of a homosexual offense. Blomberg, who must have been jolted by this, then suggested Goering, and when Hitler said no, the general wondered why the Führer could not take over the ministry himself. Hitler was noncommittal. If he were to become minister of war, who would do his staff work? Who, asked Hitler, was that general who was always at Blomberg's side? "Oh, Keitel," said Blomberg. "He would not come into consideration. He is no more than my *chef de bureau*." But that, said Hitler, is just what I want. In such a way was the undistinguished and ever compliant Keitel appointed to the post which brought him to the gallows at Nuremberg.

BUT WHAT of Fritsch and the charges of homosexuality? A Berlin miscreant named Schmidt had once blackmailed a retired cavalry captain named *Frisch* after having observed him in a homosexual act. But he told the Gestapo that his victim was General Fritsch. This bit of dynamite was buried for two years. When the Blomberg scandal erupted, it was unearthed. According to Deutsch's closely reasoned analysis, Hitler saw an opportunity to make a clean sweep and subjugate the *Wehrmacht*. Never, says the author, did Hitler "more dramatically demonstrate his genius for seizing opportunity on the wing."

The whole affair became a stinging insult to the honor of the German officer corps. General Fritsch's denial of the charge was not accepted by Hitler, who insisted there be a full inquiry. Fritsch was grilled by the Gestapo like a common criminal, and he and his friends feared for his life. Fritsch was so aroused against Himmler, the chief of the Gestapo and the SS, that he wrote out a formal challenge to a duel. A military court presided over by Goering, who was up to his neck in the frameup, finally exonerated Fritsch when the miserable Schmidt broke down and admitted he was lying. Cleverly, Goering feigned surprise and turned on the witness with a ferocious denunciation. Fritsch was unconvinced by the Reichsmarschall's theatrics and unsatisfied with the verdict. His army post had, after all, been lost because of a conspiracy hatched by Goering, Himmler, and Heydrich. Fritsch, revealingly, believed Hitler might have been kept in the dark.

In elite military circles, resentment was high as soon as word of the affair leaked out. Hitler discharged his adjutant for disobeying his explicit order not to inform Fritsch of the charge pending against him. Fritsch's chief of staff, General Ludwig Beck, thought the moment had arrived to strike against the SS and perhaps against the regime itself. Berlin area commander General Erwin von Witzleben was hot for action. But this would be futile without the support of the army high command. General Walther von Brauchitsch, given a doctored version of the affair by Hitler, had already taken over Fritsch's post. And, however sensitive to Fritsch's plight, Brauchitsch could not bring himself to move against the regime. Deutsch tells us that one reason for Brauchitsch's irresolution may have been that Hitler had agreed to help the general make an expensive alimony payment to his recently divorced wife. The course of history is easily diverted by actions which seem at first glance so small in the scale of things.

The shadow of terrible events hangs over Deutsch's splendid account of the Blomberg-Fritsch affair. Beck and von Witzleben were both among the conspirators of July 1944. Under arrest in Berlin, Beck was given a pistol at his request. His first attempt at suicide failed and he had to shoot himself a second time. Some of the conspirators, including Stauffenberg, were executed in the glare of armored car headlights in a courtyard. But von Witzleben was among the small group of senior officers who were "tried" and then hanged, at Hitler's orders, by thin wire attached to meathooks. A film was made and shown at the Chancellery that evening. Hitler and his entourage watched von Witzleben and his colleagues strangle for five minutes, their naked bodies writhing in agony.

BUT THE 1944 conspiracy does not tell us the meaning of the earlier crisis. The generals had a virulent strain of the disease that strikes professional men. Germany had become a gangster state, yet the generals were concerned only with defending the honor of the German army. Had the unfortunate Fritsch been a Jew, a Social Democrat, a Communist, a Jehovah's Witness, a homosexual, or even a leader of the Centrist or Nationalist parties, his treatment by the Gestapo would not have stirred enough emotion to interrupt a congenial luncheon. The generals lived in a small world indeed, and the price they paid for their insularity was the destruction of that larger world that had given them sanctuary. They were not evil men; yet they bear a heavy responsibility for the fate of Germany. □

FICTION

The Connoisseur
By Evan S. Connell Jr.
Knopf, 197 pp., $6.95

COLLECTOR'S ITEM

D. KEITH MANO

Sounds presumptuous saying it, but *The Connoisseur* must have been a cinch to write. Which all means: wish I'd thought of it first. Evan S. Connell Jr. doesn't mind appropriating, with due acknowledgment, maybe 25 pages of text from archaeological mavens to pad out his own less than two hundred large print pages. Formally or informally the absorbing data on Pre-Columbian forgeries, smuggling strategy, auctions, must have been researched: that adds up to another fifty pages, could be more. Work, but journalistic work. Indeed, *The Connoisseur*, which eschews quotation marks of any kind, might have been bracketed in just two big ones. It fascinates, it has authority, and it is at heart a nonfiction article with some fictional premises porched on—in fact, it's one of those occupational faction books like *Airport* or *Hotel*, but much refined. Connell stands to Arthur Hailey as a Tikal bowl stands to a c. 1960-1970 Hilton bellhop. *The Connoisseur* has considerable magic, but a lot of it is on loan from private collections.

Right off I thought, ho-ha, the protagonist, Muhlbach, is another Aschenbach. His first Pre-Columbian piece, a Jaina figurine, stands for Tadzio-Beauty; his imagined trip to Papantla, for Venice. No doubt the slovenly basket collector can be written off against Mann's various redheaded Beelzebubs, "a forked

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red beard gives him a Mephistophelian appearance." Both Muhlbach (aged 50) and Aschenbach have reached the male menopause. (Can you imagine Thomas Mann saying "male menopause"? He would have retched all over his formal writing jacket.) I'm sorry to report the analogy hits on about one cylinder. Close, but no stuffed kewpie doll. You win some, you lose some.

A novel of this kind does that, wheedles some half-panicked input from its reader. Because A) Connell writes with such sophistication, simplicity, discipline and B) Connell is a most pedestrian, uninventive, perfunctory novelist. These two authors coexist. The B) Connell specializes in Muhlbach's personal life. Son, daughter, German housekeeper, girlfriend, not to mention the not much mentioned dead or divorced wife: characters each as original as the statue you find on top of a bowling trophy. That's another reason the book was a breeze. Readers hesitate to judge. These characters might be Xerox copies because a) Muhlbach couldn't care less for them, compared to his new Pre-Columbian passion or b) Connell is the B) Connell. After all, the A) Connell gets a big assist from his engrossing subject matter. A reader likes liking the book: it's fun. So he tries helping it along, to Venice if necessary.

CONNELL'S novel is significant, ultimately, for the questions it has posed. Why do we collect? Today people accumulate and prize old bottles, metal tractor seats, comic books, you name it. For an investment? Because a collection can be made whole, given sufficient industry, as no human life can be made whole? Because, in an age when professionals harass us, to know all that's knowable about tractor seats is like membership in the AMA? To share the thing's strength, its age, its creator's talent, as cannibals collect brave human hearts? All of the above. Muhlbach sees his own tracks in the snow and is glad to perceive that they will remain at least until another snowfall. There are no answers. Indeed, *The Connoisseur* ends with fierce, vain questions. "Tell me everything I need to know." This, asked of a mute, stone hunchback.

And the big question: aesthetics or authenticity? Can a masterly 1970 copy be as pleasing as an 1100 original? Can it be more pleasing? We make snide remarks about people who frame a print of the *Mona Lisa*. Why? Because they can't afford the original? Who could? Is the *Thinker* on Columbia College campus any more original than Rodin's five or six other casts? Was Rodin forging Rodins? Soon—to preserve priceless statuary from weather—exact 3D laser images will be beamed onto blank pedestals. With proper equipment, could anyone have a Michelangelo or a Moore or a Noguchi in his backyard next to the barbecue? Will sculptors get residuals as TV commercial spokesmen now do?

Muhlbach learns from this: that gallery owners are scrupulous. If enough frauds were passed off on the public, well, the public might come to like frauds. Pre-Columbian artifacts tell us about a dead people, but they do so largely because they were commonplace at the time. Very few pieces add important insights. Every profession wants a closed shop. Every profession is threatened: *How to Avoid Probate*, ads for do-it-yourself coffins that can serve as hassocks until you do yourself in. Authenticity and the snob pressure attached are essential. Me, I'm not ashamed of the Hobbema print on my bedroom wall.

The Connoisseur is rather like a Tiahuanaco puma ceramic. Primitive, functional, stylized, and not realistic, in places unfinished or showing damage, yet powerful. And just as illustrative of its culture. □

The King's Indian
By John Gardner
Knopf, 323 pp., $8.95

A SWEET TOOTH FOR PHILOSOPHY

RONALD DE FEO

Though I admire John Gardner's talent, ambition, and inventiveness, I've never been able to warm up to his work. The author has what might be called a sweet tooth for philosophy. He is often so determined to inject philosophical dialogues, concepts, and references into his work that he will introduce them even if they break the mood of the tale he is telling, interrupt the action, appear totally absurd, pretentious, and contrived in context. For example, in *Grendel*, Gardner's clever, though at times stifling takeoff on the Beowulf story, the title character visits a dragon who speaks in the following manner: "Importance is primarily monistic in its reference to the universe. Limited to a finite individual occasion, importance ceases to be important." The reader is, of course, willing to accept the fantasy of the book and go along with the talking monster business, but must he contend with a dragon who sounds as if he's conducting a seminar in philosophy? Such a passage not only destroys the mood of the fiction (for we can only believe that the philosophic author is spouting these very carefully chosen words), but it also gives the piece a bloated quality.

ALMOST all of Gardner's books have suffered from this peculiar brand of inflation and heavy-handedness. Although the reader appreciated the meticulous rendering of small-town life in *The Sunlight Dialogues*, he couldn't accept the contrived philosophical tug of war between Sheriff Clumly and the Sunlight Man (whose at-the-drop-of-a-hat monologues were too artfully structured to be believed). Once again, in the poem *Jason and Medeia*, a long, misguided venture, Gardner's characters often became mere mouthpieces for their obsessively philosophic creator. *Nickel Mountain*, Gardner's next work, was almost a welcomed change of pace. In this somber rural tale focusing on an inarticulate outsider, the irritating philosophical passages were noticeably, mercifully absent. The novel really didn't work—it was too cold and studied and the characters never truly sprang to life—but at least it did promise a less pretentious Gardner to come.

Unfortunately, *The King's Indian*, Gardner's latest book, is filled with the same type of self-indulgence that marred so many of his earlier efforts. And to make matters worse, there is in this collection of tales a good amount of still fashionable, though by now tedious, literary game-playing—in-jokes on narrative technique and the art of fiction, allusions to other writers and their work, the use of contemporary jargon in historical pieces. In several of the stories, Gardner makes a conscious effort to emulate various writers of the past. We detect traces of Poe and Kafka in "The Ravages of Spring." The narrator, a country doctor, regards life as preposterous, and well he should since he himself seems trapped in a

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preposterous tale—a little too calculatedly ridiculous and eerie for its own good. "The Warden," one of the slightly more successful stories, concerns a warden's assistant who hasn't seen his mysterious boss for some time. The tale has a nice Kafkaesque quality, but Gardner's "philosophical" intrusions break its spell. The assistant, who, not surprisingly, goes home to read Descartes, chats with a philosophic prisoner ("There are two bodies, the rudimental and the complete . . .") and a parent who is apparently taken with Swedenborg and Spinoza. The three stories dealing with mad Queen Louisa are supposed to be sparkling and witty, but come across as silly sketches tossed off by a professor between classes. However, if you can accept a description of battling knights one moment and a queen saying "Let's go skinny-dipping" the next, you should find the pieces hilarious. Of the two stories with a contemporary setting, "Pastoral Care" is the more accomplished and substantial. In fact, this refreshingly quiet piece, focusing on a Presbyterian minister's encounter with a student, shows that Gardner can do without his bag of tricks—the story is direct and effective.

SADLY, that bag of tricks is fully employed in the title story (a novella, actually) and the results are maddening. "The King's Indian" is a huge crazy comic invention in which a host of authors are evoked and parodied—Melville, Hawthorne, Poe, Coleridge, Charles Brockden Brown, to name only a few. Jonathan Upchurch's narrative, describing his voyage on a whaling ship populated by an insane cast of characters, is totally outrageous, containing enough twists and turns of plot, hoaxes, conspiracies, coincidences, to support dozens of tales. Gardner obviously had fun writing it, and I wish I could report that I had fun reading it. But one gets the idea soon enough, and the tale, for all its mad energy, rapidly becomes a bore. It goes on and on, for no particularly good reason, and finally, exhausted at last, it self-destructs. Even in this piece of overdrawn whimsy Gardner the philosopher cannot rest. That the philosophizing contrasts too sharply with all of the nonsense obviously makes little difference to the author.

The King's Indian surprises me on two counts. One, that a writer of Gardner's sophistication could settle for such philosophical and literary doodling. And two, that so many critics could be charmed by the performance. This kind of encouragement Gardner surely does not need. □

Aroused by Books
By Anatole Broyard
Random House, 344 pp., $8.95

BROYARD'S BANQUET

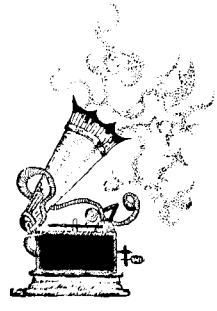
ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

Most book reviews are perishable, and collections, therefore, unpromising: like dried flowers they bring memories more often than fresh experiences. This one, however, is *sui generis*. Some of the books reviewed are ephemeral; but none of the reviews are. For once, the collective title is apt: his *New York Times* pieces here selected, expanded, and occasionally redone are indeed about books or subjects that aroused Broyard's admiration, his anger, or his annoyance—above all his literary sensibility and analytical power. And Broyard has the rare gift that distinguishes the born writer (*nascitur; non fit*): whatever arouses his passions he can communicate fully; hence his reactions are infectious. We are affected by the books he read, led to consider the human predicament which entraps us, and which is penetrated only by the understanding that writers must help us to achieve.

Frequently I have found the review better than the book which occasioned it: it concentrated what the author had said diffusely, or articulated what he should have written. Occasionally Broyard even pumps some life into a still-birth, or treats an abortive attempt as though brought to term, an autistic child as though able to communicate. But generosity becomes a reviewer. Here it produces a review as interesting as the book would have been had the author written what the reviewer read.

Never less than an exploration of the potentialities of the human career, literature enhances as well as defines its boundaries. It reveals the possible experiences our imagination can produce, and, above all, the meaning they, and therewith our actualities, can acquire. Thus, to be "aroused by books" is ultimately to be aroused by one's own possibilities. By enabling us to experience literature, Broyard actually helps us to experience our own life, to see the actual in the light cast by the potential. And the books Broyard captured offer the texture and quality of American life in the last few years. To my taste it is as often bitter as sweet, and mostly gritty. Yet the reviews unfailingly stimulate one's appetite, and help one understand, occasionally even transcend, one's own reaction.

HERE AND there my taste differs from Broyard's. He thinks highly of Pauline Kael's movie reviews—probably because he was too busy reading books to go to the movies. Else he might have noticed that Pauline Kael is no better than Judith Crist (she couldn't be worse if she tried) and more pretentious. Perhaps Broyard was seduced by Kael's undeniable talent for writing. But, to be blunt, she has no taste and no critical faculty. People who say things well, but say the wrong things well, for the wrong reasons, are disastrous as critics, much worse than clumsy writers. Broyard should not have allowed himself to be bribed by pretty words. No point going further into such disagreements: nobody could agree with every one of 107 reviews. But I admire all of them. What liveliness, zest, freshness; what metaphors and epiphanies. An ideal model for a writing course. And, on the whole, the judgments are well argued and persuasive. They are independent too. Broyard is no respecter of reputations. Each work has to stand or fall on its own merits. And he knows how to recognize and define them, or to indicate, scathingly sometimes, why he could not find any.



Still, one question bothers me. The parts seem, if not better, more true than the whole, the individual essays more than the collection. Broyard likes most of the books he writes on. I cared for only a few. To be sure, I read only a small proportion. But there is no rea-

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son to believe that, by chance or otherwise, I read the worst. Guided by my knowledge of my own taste, and by Broyard's reviews, I probably selected those that best cater to it. How then are we to explain the difference?

I PROPOSE two reasons. First, in Broyard "cheerfulness always keeps breaking through"—more often than justified by the literary or human predicament. An attractive quality—but ought it to affect the critic's work? Secondly, his virtues as a writer here and there vitiate Broyard's critical acumen. He cannot write without coining memorable phrases, right, left, and in the middle. A delight to read. But it may also make a tedious book appear less tedious—even when its tediousness is scrupulously remarked on. (Surely it shouldn't be reproduced. Yet Broyard cannot help making even dullness sound interesting.) More dangerous, the tediousness may not always be apparent to the critic captivated by his own verbal —I almost said athletic—feats. His own felicity may affect his perception and cause him to regard the book as less dreary than a reader not able to turn continual verbal handsprings, not dazzled by his own firecrackers, might find it.

Yet, what a marvelous performance it is. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE GOOD SHEPHERD, *by Thomas Fleming (Doubleday, 418 pp., $7.95).* Would Protestants be interested in a novel of this kind? Probably not unless they are members of Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State, and they will lap it up. All they have ever wanted to believe about the Church of Rome is here, the venality, the striving for power, the cynicism in high places, every sin in the book, yea even unto fornication between priest and nun. Would Catholics be interested? Very much so, but lots of them will not like it, many will loathe it, none will feel comfortable with it. Thomas Fleming wades into the middle of the galvanic struggle that has swirled in and around the Roman Catholic Church since Vatican II. He elevates his own Cardinal, Matthew Mahan, and sends him off to Rome with Pope Paul's choices, Cardinals-designate Cooke, Wright, Dearden, and Krol. Matt Mahan is a builder and a doer, a war hero chaplain, son of a dour Irish father and a volatile Italian mother. Like Spellman in many respects, he is a pragmatic churchman who has ruled his diocese for ten years with a hand of iron. But Matt Mahan was a protégé of Pope John's. Uneasy about certain rigidities built into the system he has, as the story opens, taken for secretary a disaffected young liberal priest who will before the story ends both betray him and repent the betrayal. At the end Matt Mahan breaks with Pope Paul and the Curia on the matters of contraception, divorce and remarriage. Fiction melds into fact, a real Pope Paul talks to a Matthew Mahan who never was. Fleming writes with assurance and strength but also with a sentimentality that leans toward maudlinism at times. (But then what are the Irish in their cups if not sentimental and maudlin?) A compelling book with a number of flaws: some characters are overdrawn, others stereotyped, the women are one dimensional. Some incidents are inherently implausible, others downright impossible. But the conflicts are real, our passions are aroused. Because of its subject matter, *Good Shepherd* is sure to be weighed for its ideological content rather than for its fictional competence. Rather a pity for a novel that probes deeply into problems that, like them or not, millions of Catholics must contend with today.

PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY

THE CAMBERWELL BEAUTY, *by V. S. Pritchett (Random House, 211 pp., $5.95).* All but one of the nine stories in this collection are short stories that have been published in magazines; the title story, which has not been published previously, is actually a novella, and a rather striking one. It is written in a slightly old-fashioned kind of impressionism—except for the modern automobiles, you would probably place it nearer Conrad and Ford's time than our own. The narrator is speaking to some unidentified person as the story begins, starting leisurely *in medias res* with comments about various antique dealers they have both known. He then works back and forth over his story, filling in the gaps and showing that the dealers, whose idiosyncrasies and obsessions he had thought perfectly predictable, contain hidden depths of strangeness. The other stories are of varying quality. Among the better ones are the slightly John Cheeverish "Did You Invite Me?" and another one about appearances and reality, "The Last Throw"; "The Guatemalan Lady" is almost surrealistic and very nice, although the ending has perhaps less meaning than meets the eye. Some of Mr. Pritchett's stories are rather glib, but none is less than readable, and the best are indeed first rate.

LINDA BRIDGES

THE DECLINE OF AMERICAN GENTILITY, *by Stow Persons (Columbia University Press, 336 pp., $12.50).* "By the time of American colonial settlement," observes Stow Persons, "the gentleman had achieved a well-defined status among the privileged classes of Britain and the continental European countries." Everywhere, the gentleman combined "a measure of authority and prestige with a prescribed code of manners and style of living" that distinguished him from the common man. In colonial America "a gentry class modeled explicitly on the British gentry formed the apex of the social structure." The gentry class had scarcely attained maturity before "the political and social changes initiated by the Revolution and culminating in Jacksonian democracy destroyed its class character and substituted for it a number of functional elites." During the nineteenth century, gentry spokesmen—increasingly aware of their isolation and vulnerability—expressed the deepening conviction that the masses "despised the values and style of gentility." Since the 1930s sociologists have tempered the harsh judgments of such gentry spokesmen as Henry Adams and Charles Eliot Norton regarding the massification of American society. However, "in the real world of cultural conflict the status of the high culture of which the gentry were always the patrons and practitioners has been found by many observers to be precarious in the extreme." The nineteenth century gentleman's successor is "the alienated intellectual." Professor Persons' history of American gentry treats well an important and insufficiently understood phase of our national history.

HAVEN BRADFORD GOW

UNDERCOVER: *Memoirs of an American Secret Agent, by E. Howard Hunt (Berkley-Putnam, 338 pp., $8.95).* On October 28, during the third week of the Watergate coverup trial, witness E. Howard Hunt swore to tell the truth and then proceeded to admit that he had not done so at least a dozen times in previous testimony. Among the results: still another Watergate bombshell, a publisher with egg on his face, and a badly flawed book. The problem is that *Undercover*, primarily an account of Hunt's role in Watergate, went to press before he decided to tell the truth. And that explains a great deal about the book's deficiencies. There is a sense of caution here, a stilted pseudo-balance, a careful structure with something lacking at the center. Hunt, as he shows himself to us, is too naive, too uninformed, too passive. And now we know why. In the past, Hunt has proved himself extremely adept at weaving fact into fiction. But he is much less successful at making fiction fact. Let's hope that he has finally purged himself and that his next book tells the whole truth. Hunt is a talented writer, and, despite Watergate, he has served his country well for decades. He has suffered more than any one man should be expected to suffer, and he deserves the chance, as he puts it, "over the next few years . . . to make a sequel worth the writing."

JOHN R. COYNE JR.

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itly defends the Teilhardian system, then we shall have something to go on.

Men as diverse in their philosophical approaches as Gabriel Marcel, Jacques Maritain, Dietrich von Hildebrand, Etienne Gilson, and Père Louis Bouyer regard Teilhard as destroying the authentic Christian idea of a personal God, by means of an evolutionary system that rejects the basic Christian conception of the relationship between God and the world. To "place God in the center of all things," which Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn thinks so important, really means little if the God conceived of is no longer the God of Christian Revelation.

Philadelphia, Pa. JOHN J. MULLOY

None of the cognoscenti, if they let their hair down, would deny that, at least, Farley Clinton has a thesis.

Nor should there be any doubt in our minds about the causes of the protest—although I will have doubts until I die as to how one should (morally and practically as journalists) deal with it. The substantive issue here is simple: there are real abuses in the bureaucracy; there always have been. While it is relatively easy to conclude that in a political Watergate all should "hang out," what do you do in the case of the *Church*? Two views in the main: the one which says that you should not rock the boat—it's Peter's bark, and Jesus will right it. The "Watergate" view: let it all hang out.

Personally, my views are these. On the one hand, this is the Church of Jesus. I feel an instinctive awe and reverence which bids me draw back from doing anything that would tamper with its well-being. It is His. I am not the Church. I belong to it. Anything that really damages it, I cannot justify. I fear God's reaction. It is His. On the other hand, in the history of the Church, it has been quite often the protests of its ordinary members which have ultimately brought about changes that were desirable. And, today, so much incorrect information is diffused that there is a real obligation to comment on the important trends in Church development. Two of these—the intellectualist movement and the rift with the Third World—form the basis of Mr. Clinton's article.

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Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

[MARILYN] MANION:

Life-or-Death Decisions.

While it's acceptable to kill unborn babies in Sweden, the government does have a soft heart towards other small creatures. . . . The Swedish government changed the location of Air Force maneuvers in order to avoid interfering with the hatching of eggs of wild geese.

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CAHN

(Continued from page 213)

implemented some and proposed others.) If we do not lead, the Arab attempt at sowing panic may succeed.

Next, we must not create new enemies by using the Western alliance to form a consumer countercartel seeking to impose lower prices. The price compression technique is a guarantee for keeping OPEC alive, well, and strong.

Next, we must offer blandishments, backed by threats. The blandishment is not fighting the OPEC price as long as OPEC, not we, enforce it. We buy the cheapest we can find, and pay in good coin that the sellers are willing to hold. To the Arabs on the Persian Gulf, who are the largest exporters, we offer another inducement: protection. This they need more than money or petroleum, and if they refuse the double bait of good coin and protection, we turn to threats.

The threat is that if they use the oil weapon in a war against Israel, we will induce the creation of a power vacuum on the Persian Gulf. This threat poses grave dangers for the governments in power there. It also does for us, which is the reason the Arabs feel safe from it. The Soviets would take over—thus goes the scenario—and Europe would be held for ransom by the Russians instead of by the Saudis. Can we live with this? Clearly not.

The answer must be an accommodation with the Soviets whereby vital supplies for our allies arrive with greater assurance than they do under the threat of embargoes, while the Soviets get control of some or all the supplies which exceed this quantity. (These they would almost certainly feed into world markets.) Thus, the tradeoff would be that in exchange for respecting our vital interests, the petroleum in excess of what is necessary to that purpose is theirs in some form.

An assumption is made here about the Soviet Union that must be brought out into the open. It is that they will act in accordance with their own enlightened self-interest, which includes the maximization of economic benefits to themselves and the avoidance of terminal confrontations. The damage or benefit to the West of any policy is a secondary consideration for them; the primary consideration is their own substantive gain. In 1955 a policy which would have yielded them a benefit of X while yielding us a benefit of 3X would have been rejected. Today it would be accepted. The reader may have a different view, but this is not the place to expand upon the reasons for mine. This essay oversimplifies like a large scale map in order to lay the issues side by side and make all of them visible simultaneously. If my assumption about the Soviets is correct, then a division-of-the-spoils policy is viable and, conversely, it is not viable if my assumption is invalid.

I do not think the threat here outlined needs to be implemented, but in the absence of cooperation from the Persian Gulf Arabs, it would have to be made. It would be foolish to be blind to the tremendous risks that are being suggested but, unhappily, the present risks, to which we are already subject, are at least equally great and probably greater: we are stalemated without a solution in sight.

The cause of the financial, energy, and military crisis lies in the Persian Gulf. That is where the solution must be found. □

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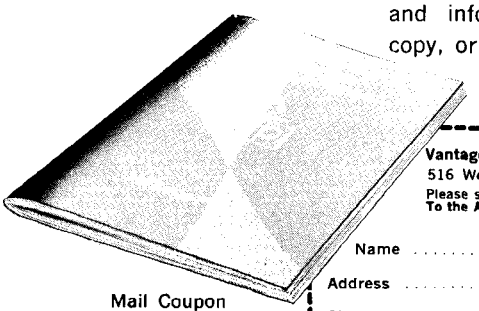

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WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

The Coils of Detente

On The Right

New York, Feb. 7—Senator Jackson is in disrepute because of the refusal of the Soviet Union to accept American economic credits. Indeed, Senator Jackson and his colleagues were publicly scolded by President Ford when he delivered the State of the Union address a few days after the Kremlin huffily announced that it could not be expected to be forced into the indignity of observing human rights for mere money. No, it would take a great deal more than that to force a proud leadership to renounce its principled opposition to human freedom.

Mr. Kissinger of course joined President Ford in lamenting the turn of events, and one can, in a purely technical sense, understand, and even sympathize with, a Secretary of State who is trying to negotiate with a foreign power and finds himself saddled with extrinsic considerations by Congress. Because they are, of course, extrinsic: that is to say, a Soviet respect for human rights is not an aspect of detente in any formal philosophical sense. Winston Churchill said he would make a pact with the devil to accomplish his objective (the defeat of Hitler) and proceeded to do so. Willy Brandt said that human rights in the Soviet Union had nothing whatever to do with his policy of Ostpolitik.

What Mr. Kissinger has not commented on is the *failure* of detente—in Indochina, for instance. What is happening in Indochina is that the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China have been hypoing an already ravenous North Vietnamese Communist appetite for taking over South Vietnam with military hardware on a huge scale. Peace in Vietnam was held up as the first fruit of detente. And, for a flickering moment, Peace in Vietnam was understood as meaning peace in Vietnam. Presently, the Orwellian meaning of the phrase became clear. It meant: American military withdrawal from Vietnam, and quite literally nothing else. If I were one of those people who are always looking for excuses to label Westerners as "racists," I would use the Nobel Committee as a prime exhibit. The Nobel people awarded a Peace Prize to Mr. Kissinger and Le Duc Tho for stanching the flow of WASP blood in South Vietnam. Gooks don't count. They continue to be slaughtered at the conventional rate. And Mr. Kissinger's diplomacy proves helpless in stopping the flow of arms that makes this possible.

So Congress stepped between Mr. Kissinger and the Russians and insisted that economic concessions to the Soviet Union could not be made unless the Soviet Union permitted free emigration. But the integrity of this humanitarian impulse on the part of Congress is suddenly clouded as Congress sits by, refusing to appropriate the dollars necessary to help the South Vietnamese resist the advancing Communists. Moreover, unlike the Russian situation, it was established American policy to help South Vietnam defend itself against the Communists. Congress cut in half the pledged military appropriations to the South Vietnamese, and in doing so accomplished more than the depletion of the South's military reserves. It has gone a long way to accomplish the demoralization of the South Vietnamese, who find that they were leaning on so slender a reed as the word of the United States.

MEANWHILE, no doubt, Israeli strategists observe Congress, insouciantly prepared to deliver South Vietnam to the North Vietnamese. That is the same Congress that voted to insist on the rights of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union. The hypocrisy is transparent, and no doubt the Israelis are saying to themselves: there, but for Israeli intransigence, would go Israel. If the United States will not spend a pledged extra $300 million to defend an ally with which it fought arm and arm in a great war, what will it do to help us, when the going gets tough, and the concrete of isolationism in the American spirit hardens?

I, for one, yearn for the days of the cold war. Because international tension is there in any case, and it is healthy to recognize it as such, in the sense that realism is healthy. Detente is impacted diplomatic hypocrisy. We're not spending any less on defense on account of detente, and in fact we should be spending more. We have not achieved freedom for Eastern Europe. We have not brought peace with honor to South Vietnam. What has detente done for us except provide a backdrop for the exchange of toasts between American Presidents and Communist tyrants? Neville Chamberlain and Adolf Hitler were able to contrive a situation that permitted the use of champagne. We should keep ours in the cellar until there is something to celebrate. □

THE CIA ON THE DEFENSIVE

New York, Feb. 12—The CIA investigation unfolds, mostly in the press, and there is no doubt that the Agency has become the major hobgoblin of the day. The height of the hysteria was voiced at Yale University, by Mr. John Lindsay, who, briefly in residence there to be debriefed on his experience in municipal affairs, attacked the composition of the Rockefeller panel ("not one of them [the members] has a record of civil liberties"), and added that he himself always knew that "the CIA would become a monster and smite us all." Presumably the CIA is to blame for the bankrupt condition of New York City after eight years of leadership by Mr. Lindsay. Come to think of it, there is no more plausible explanation for the mess in New York than that the enemies of Mr. Lindsay were secretly running the government.

There was seldom a situation in which journalistic semantics played so great a role. Thus, the newspaper sentence, "Mr. Angleton believes that antiwar efforts were backed by foreign agencies," is read by one and all to mean, "Mr. Angleton entertains the obviously absurd notion that antiwar efforts were backed by foreign agencies."

The spokesmen for CIA have not rushed forward to give detailed accounts of the Agency's activities, and that's wrong. Or, as it is usually put, the CIA has "refused to specify the basis of the allegations." But it is okay for Seymour Hersh of the *New York Times* to make unqualified statements on the basis of unspecified "well placed sources." You will perhaps have observed the tech-

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nique. One day Mr. Hersh alleges that the CIA has done thus-and-so. The next day he quotes his own report of the day before, beginning with the phrase, "Yesterday the *New York Times* revealed . . ."

Then there is the subtle use of quotation marks. "Richard Helms told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that he could not 'recall' whether the White House had urged the CIA to engage in domestic spying. The *New York Times*, quoting well placed sources, said that the CIA had violated . . ." Why the quotes around Helms's "recall," where they do not belong? Why *not* quotes around "well placed sources"—where, according to the rules of punctuation, they *do* belong? Consider, for a moment, how differently these two sentences would read if the placing of the quotation marks had been reversed.

Mr. Miles Copeland, an author who has had considerable experience with and within the CIA, recently wrote a letter to the London *Times* skewering a typical report on the williwaw. The *Times*' report had quoted President Ford aboard Air Force One, flying to Vail. "The President said he had been assured in a midflight telephone call from Mr. William Colby, the CIA Director, that such activities 'did not exist' now." Commented Mr. Copeland: "What Mr. Colby said was that such activities 'do not exist.' The 'now' in the *Times*' story was added by your reporter. 'I do not beat my wife now' conveys a meaning rather different from 'I do not beat my wife.'"

THE ONLY fresh air recently was the story in the *Washington Post* quoting the former liaison man between the CIA and the FBI who said that there are "grey areas" in the law, resulting in the CIA's crossing into domestic operations for legitimate reasons. Mr. Sam Papich blamed these murky areas on a statute that "goes from the vague to the ridiculous."

"For example, he said"—I quote the *Post* story—"a CIA training program for local police departments was widely thought to have been aimed at anti-war activists and therefore represented an incursion into the domestic field. In fact, its purpose was to share with local police several devices and methods the CIA had developed in its own work. One device, he said, is used in the apprehension of murderers by detecting whether a suspect has held a piece of metal in the last 24 hours."

The charter says that the CIA shall have "no police, subpoena, law enforcement powers, or internal security functions." But, Mr. Papich reminds us, it also says that the CIA Director is "responsible for protecting intelligence sources and methods from unauthorized disclosure."

"A Soviet spy in France out of the blue travels to the U.S.," he said. "You don't just pick up the telephone and tell Hoover . . ."

Complexities are being lost to the ideological rigidities. One wonders whether the critics of the CIA would really demand that it reveal its files on connections between U.S. protests and foreign money? Or—conceivably—will a thorough investigation reveal that CIA has not done enough? Does it make sense, in any case, to repeal the law of hot pursuit when the enemy is detected flying into your own territory? □

THE CRITICS OF HUAC

New York, Feb. 3—The death of the old House Committee on Un-American Activities has caused large scale unemployment among the class of Americans who appear to have devoted the whole of their time to the Committee's derogation. It was to be expected that they should rejoice and, in doing so, reiterate the usual Polish jokes about the Committee's ineptitude. But it was surprising to read my colleague George Will writing about the Committee as though he were apprenticing for *The Nation* magazine. But the learned Mr. Will is a PhD from Princeton, and it is too much to expect that you can work your way up that very steep academic ladder without getting splintered by a few of the biases of the liberal generation, whose major sportsperson was, indeed, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, with its pathetic and helpless victims, its lust for publicity, the stupidity and venality of its members, and you know the rest of it.

Fifteen years ago, in the company of a dozen journalists, lawyers, and scholars, I undertook a study of the House Committee's history, intending to probe the question whether in fact it was all that bad. The result was a book: *The Committee and Its Critics* (Putnam, 1962). I learned what Mr. Will manifestly hasn't, namely, that the scope of the Committee's work was very large, by no means confined to looking under George Raft's bed in search of a samovar. In the late Fifties, the Committee was asking such questions as: What is the current strength of the Communists in the waterfront unions in Hawaii? What connections do the Communists maintain with organized gambling in Miami? How much money is the Soviet Union probably spending on paid propaganda in the Western hemisphere? What is the opinion of a dozen Soviet experts on the impact of the Twentieth Congress on Communist thought? What loopholes have the Communists uncovered in the immigration laws? What is the role of political assassination in the advancement of Communist revolution? What is the biographical background of the dramatis personae of international Communism? What does Professor David Dallin's extensively documented graph of the movements in the Party line suggest is in store for the West? How does Professor Gerhart Niemeyer reckon the current bearing of Marxist-Leninist ideology on Soviet policy? . . . Hundreds of hearings, a thousand publications, a library of expert testimony, qualified the work of the Committee as a supremely valuable repository of expert knowledge on the scope and meaning and particularities of the Communist enterprise, a source more valuable by far than what the typical student, taking every course in the curriculum, was likely to come up against in a major university.

OF COURSE the Committee had its fools. And of course some of these fools suspected the local bassoon player was the ganglion of the conspiracy. But for every one of them, there were ten tweedy fools in professors' chairs who believed the Committee was threatening American freedom. And, alas, for every fool who served on the Committee, there were, and are, a thousand beady-eyed plotters against human freedom who rejoice at the tortured ineptitude of the West. It wasn't the House Committe on Un-American Activities that fought and won a world war and thereupon turned Eastern Europe into a Soviet slave camp and Mainland China into a Maoist slave camp. That great feat was done by the urbane gentry who would disdain the literature of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Mr. Will's material derives from the book of Mr. Walter Goodman —how many such books there were! Books, monographs, tracts, by such as Robert Carr, Henry Steele Commager, James Wechsler, Alan Barth, Zechariah Chafee, Telford Taylor, the theme of which seemed to be: how shall we make it *absolutely* painless for an American citizen to contribute to the subversion of his country?

Mr. Will cites with supreme contempt a question put to one witness by one member of the Committee, a couple of decades ago: "Would you say that [the New Deal] was more Fascist or more Communist?" But Mr. Will is a great tease. He fails to give us the answer. □

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. Jeeves' employer — 59 148 187 23 232 194 142

B. Use of more force than necessary — 72 117 197 188 226 32 217 212

C. Passage of blood cells through capillary walls into the tissues — 115 5 44 68 208 170 177 196 213 223

D. Head of England's College of Arms (a title) — 124 24 34 79 140 157 163 178 227 39 1

E. Let's hope Rockefeller doesn't have this kind of hold on G. O. P. nomination — 93 49 122 17 128 155 173 199 19 25

F. An American Indian people — 174 158 118 18 151 145 48

G. Did Caesar take this on his way to Rome? — 161 168 176 152 175 129 33

H. Fish that can inflict severe wounds — 90 154 87 6 160 167 191 222 63

I. Surname of the "Corn-Law Rhymer" — 4 45 70 80 91 95 15

J. Marked with spots and patches of white and some other color — 147 181 74 104 123 159 218 7

K. Martin Luther reduced this game by a tithe — 183 102 14 179 219 38 52

L. Town south of Detroit — 190 41 75 54 103 81 171 106 209

M. What the gentlemanly House member did — 206 56 76 211 26 109 51

N. Bitter compound found in tea and other beverages — 126 162 27 204 8 82 114 57

O. British general (1795-1857) — 86 94 3 233 71 97 55 62

P. A prominent unskilled person — 96 42 198 231 220 205 13

Q. A kind of coffee — 134 43 67 85 139 149 100

R. River in Alaska — 138 200 214 166 21 184

S. Political district in Italy — 141 98 113 172 185 137 28 189 230 164 84 73 111

T. Part of a magician's *ritual* — 153 30 40 60 83 99 107 116 127 131

U. How Bumppo's appearance might have been described — 165 169 201 101 46 146 225 66 58

V. A tree of the mahogany family — 192 29 36 88

W. Expensive stress — 207 228 89 105 92 136 112 193 210 2 50

X. Having a wide range of tolerance to variation of environmental factors — 224 120 110 78 47 130 9 64 144

Y. What the wishy-washy congressman did — 229 31 77 125 12 119 221 69 22

Z. Out of the limelight — 16 215 37 202 65 132 150 10

a. Exceeding legal power or authority — 20 186 195 61 121 135 143 156 182 35

b. A type of touring car — 53 108 216 203 133 180 11

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 238 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram.

1 D	2 W	3 O	4 I		5 C	6 H	7 J	8 N	9 X	10 Z	11 b	12 Y	13 P	14 K	15 I		16 Z	17 E	
18 F	19 E	20 a	21 R	22 Y	23 A		24 D	25 E	26 M		27 N	28 S	29 V	30 T	31 Y	32 B	33 G	34 D	35 a
	36 V	37 Z		38 K	39 D	40 T	41 L	42 P	43 Q	44 C	45 I	46 U	47 X	48 F		49 E	50 W	51 M	
52 K	53 b	54 L	55 O	56 M	57 N	58 U		59 A	60 T	61 a	62 O	63 H		64 X	65 Z	66 U		67 Q	68 C
69 Y	70 I	71 O		72 B	73 S		74 J	75 L	76 M	77 Y	78 X		79 D	80 I	81 L	82 N	83 T	84 S	
85 Q	86 O	87 H	88 V	89 W		90 H	91 I		92 W	93 E	94 O	95 I		96 P	97 O		98 S	99 T	100Q
101U	102K	103L		104J	105W	106L	107T	108b	109M	110X		111S	112W		113S	114N	115C	116T	117B
118F	119Y	120X	121a	122E		123J	124D		125Y		126N	127T	128E	129G	130X		131T	132Z	133b
134Q	135a	136W		137S	138R		139Q	140D	141S	142A	143a	144X	145F	146U		147J	148A	149Q	150Z
151F	152G	153T	154H	155E	156a		157D		158F	159J	160H	161G	162N	163D		164S	165U		166R
167H	168G	169U	170C	171L	172S	173E	174F		175G		176G	177C	178D	179K	180b	181J	182a		183K
184R	185S	186a	187A	188B		189S	190L		191H		192V	193W	194A	195a	196C	197B	198P	199E	200R
201U	202Z	203b		204N	205P	206M		207W	208C		209L	210W	211M	212B		213C	214R	215Z	216b
217B	218J	219K	220P	221Y	222H		223C	224X	225U	226B		227D	228W	229Y		230S	231P	232A	233Q

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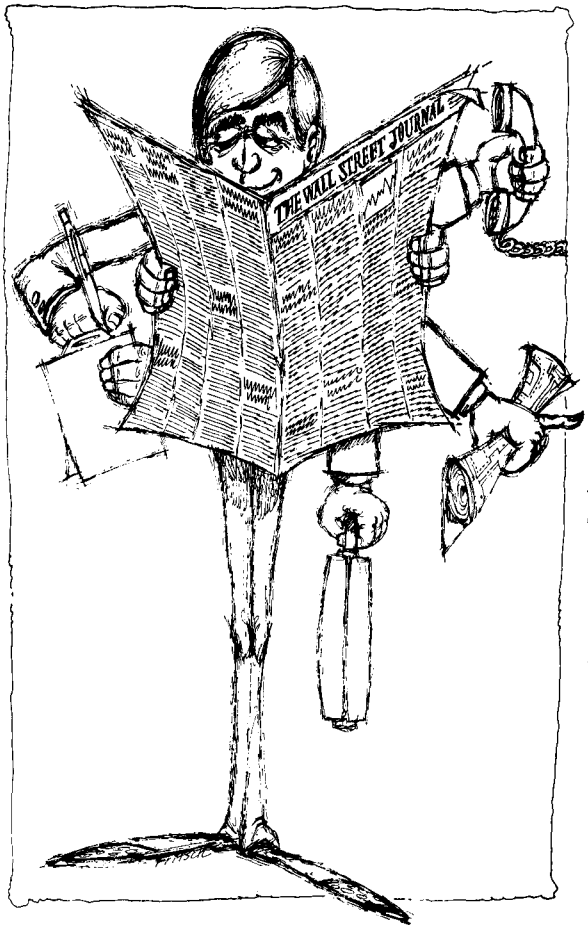

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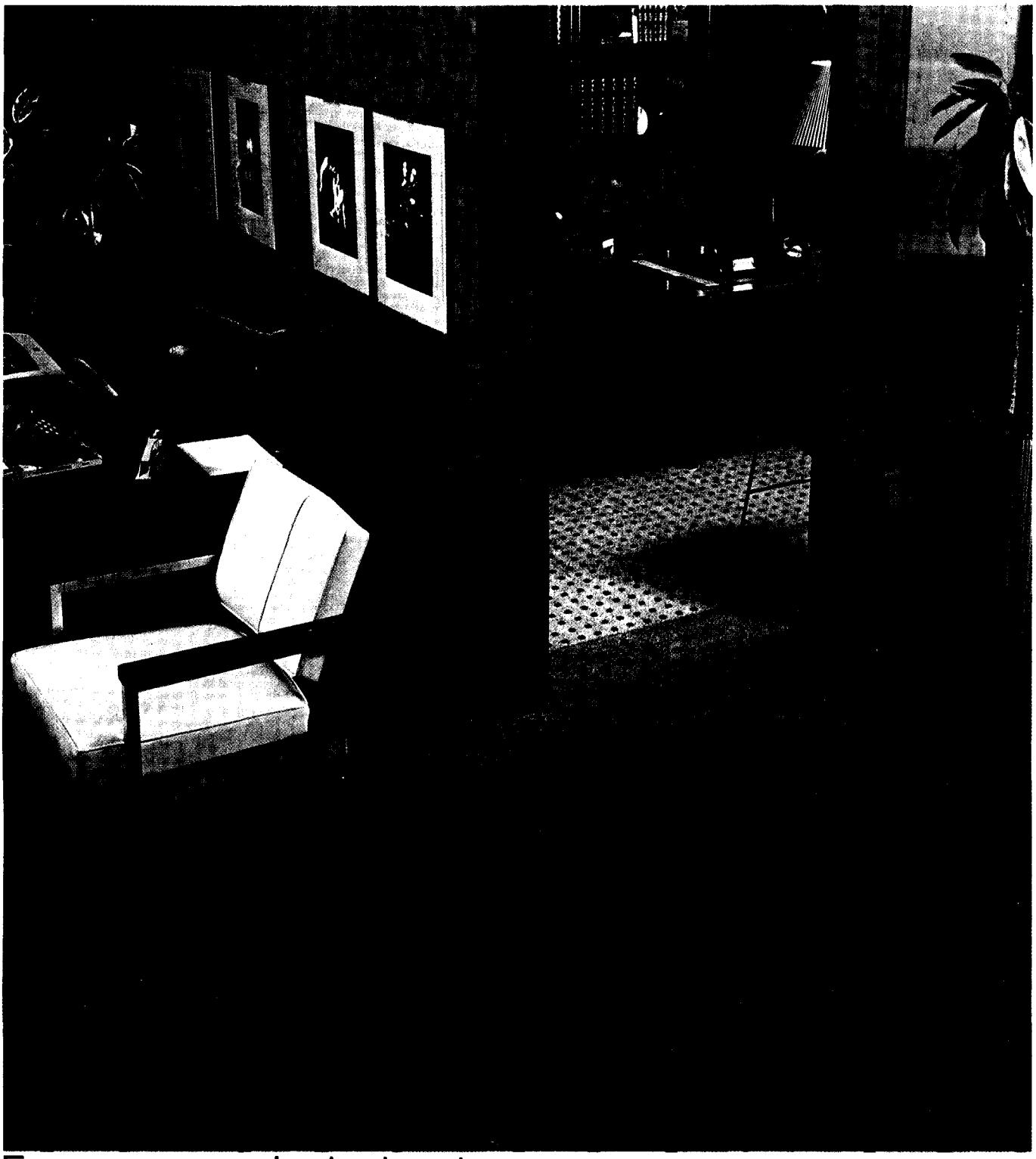

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